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American Religious Leaders

FRANCIS WAYLAND

BY

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For the pursuit of truth hath been my only care ever since I first understood the meaning of the word. For this I have forsaken all hopes, all friends, all desires which might bias me and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this I have spent my means, my youth, my age, and all I have, that I might remove from myself that censure of Tertullian, "Suo vitio quis quid ignorat." If with all this cost and pains my purchase is but error, I may safely say, to err hath cost me more than it has many to find the truth; and truth itself shall give me this testimony at last, that if I have missed of her, it is not my fault, but my misfortune.

JOHN HALES of Eton. Letter to Archbishop Laud.

PREFACE.

THE preparation of this volume was intrusted to my hands as a pupil of Dr. Wayland. It was undertaken in the spirit of gratitude to a teacher for whose character and influence, while living, the author had the deepest reverence, and for whose memory, when dead, a great and growing appreciation. A Memoir of his life and labors had been written in 1867 with pious care by his sons, the Hon. Francis Wayland, of Yale University, and the Rev. Dr. H. Lincoln Wayland, of Philadelphia. The volumes were cordially placed at the disposal of the author, with a full permission to use their contents. If this book shall fulfil its purpose in bringing Dr. Wayland freshly to view as one of the leaders in the religious thought of America, it will be because facilities so rich were thus offered the writer. By the wise suggestion of his family, Dr. Wayland had written

out with some fullness Reminiscences of his life. These were incorporated in the biography published by his sons. As occasion served, they have been quoted as adding an element of autobiographical interest to the book. And if the author's frequent use of the biographical material in the published Memoir of Dr. Wayland shall lead any readers to the more full details of that life there faithfully given, he will feel that he has not written wholly in vain.

The greater part of Dr. Wayland's life was spent in the work of education. Yet he was none the less on that account a leader in religious thought. It was religious thought mainly as to the practical working of Christianity, not as to its dogmatic statements. He had no theory of education which admitted of any divorce between it and religion, nay, between it and the Christian faith. He was distinctively a religious teacher all his life, in the classroom, on the platform, through the press, and in the pulpit. Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, moulded the religious thinking of his pupils, and so ultimately that of wide circles in England. The same may be said of Dr. Wayland in America. And of no man who has appeared

among us to assume the high office of the Christian educator can the noble words of John Hales, of Eton, which stand opposite the title-page of this volume, hold true in a sense more unqualified than of Francis Wayland. In the hope, therefore, that the work may bring his strong and noble personality, with its high Christian endeavor and high Christian attainment in the service of his fellow-men, freshly before this generation, it is committed to that public which in America has always been quick to revere and quick to follow such a leader.

JAMES O. MURRAY.

PRINCETON COLLEGE, *September 2, 1890.*

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FRANCIS WAYLAND.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS: HOME AND STUDENT LIFE.

IT may justly be said of Dr. Wayland that he was happy in the opportunity of his life. That life was passed in the formative period of our educational and religious institutions. At no time could his powers have counted for more; at no time, indeed, could he have better done his appointed work. No sooner had the war for independence ended and the government of the United States been placed on a settled basis by the adoption of the Constitution; no sooner had the national life begun to flow in its new channels, than there was a great advance along all the lines of denominational activity and educational enterprise. Everything which before had been carried on in scattered, sporadic methods, now tended to organization. Boards of foreign and home missions were established. Bible and tract societies were organized. Theological seminaries were founded. New colleges were planted,

and the older institutions more liberally endowed. The religious press was multiplied. Associations for moral reform were instituted. The first half of this century was prolific in all these movements.

In this development, religious and educational, the Baptist denomination bore an honorable part. This is the more creditable to that religious body, because its early history in this country had been largely one of struggle under persecutions more or less bitter. Baptists fared hardly in the New England Colonies. They had a treatment scarcely less hard at the hands of the Dutch in New York and from the authorities in Virginia and Georgia. Only in Maryland and Rhode Island did they have a fair and undisturbed opportunity for growth.¹

No sooner, however, were their disabilities removed, than they entered upon a growth which now ranks them in point of numbers second among the Christian denominations.² In 1817, it is said there were only three educated Baptist ministers west of the Hudson River in the State

¹ Armitage's *History of the Baptists*, see pp. 686 *et seq.*

² The relative numbers of Baptist and Methodist churches, ministers, and members are as follows : —

CHURCHES.	MINISTERS.	MEMBERS.
Baptist, 48,371	32,343	4,292,291
Methodist, 54,711	31,765	4,980,240

The Independent, July 31, 1890.

of New York. The Baptists had, however, before the Revolution, begun to plant institutions of learning. Under the auspices of the Philadelphia Association of Baptists, the academy at Hopewell, N. J., was founded in 1756. Brown University, then Rhode Island College, received its charter in February, 1764. And when, after the war of independence was ended, the general movement for enlarged education began, the Baptists were not behind other churches in their zeal and self-sacrifice. In 1813, the Maine Literary and Theological Institute, now Colby University, received its charter. In 1825, the Hamilton (N. Y.) Literary and Theological Institution was opened. The Newton (Mass.) Theological Institution began its career in 1825. These are facts illustrating the energetic spirit, which then among the Baptists was pushing the cause of higher education. It was alike fortunate for that denomination, and for the interests of good learning, that a man was raised up singularly fitted by natural endowments and by training, for various and important movements in social progress, especially in the line of education.

Francis Wayland was born March 11, 1796, in the city of New York. He came of English stock on both sides, his father, Francis Wayland, being a native of Frome, Somersetshire, and his

mother, Sarah (Moore) Wayland, a native of Norwich, England. His ancestors, further removed, were from the middle class of English society, and were dissenters of Baptist sentiments.¹ Shortly after their marriage, his parents emigrated to this country, landing at New York September 20, 1793. In that city his father at once set up his business as a currier. By aid of a small capital, and still more by means of his own skill, industry, and integrity, he throve in his calling. The time was propitious for such a venture, and a prosperous business career at once opened before him. Mr. Wayland and his wife had both been members of a Baptist Church in London. After their arrival in New York they joined what was then the Fayette Street Baptist Church, subsequently, by that process of ecclesiastical transmigration common to all churches in the metropolis, the Oliver Street, and now the Madison Avenue, Baptist Church. It is a tribute to his piety and weight of character that Mr. Wayland was soon appointed one of its deacons. The home life of Dr. Wayland, like the home life of New England Puritans, was marked strongly by its reli-

¹ An uncle, the Rev. Daniel S. Wayland, between whom and Dr. Wayland a cordial intimacy subsisted, seems, however, to have been in the Established Church, a rector of the parish in Bassingham, England.

gious features. Sunday especially was made a day of Christian nurture. In *Reminiscences* of his early life, which Dr. Wayland prepared at the request of his family, is preserved a graphic picture of the religious training in that household.

“On the Lord’s day, the rule of the family was for all the children to learn a hymn before dinner, and a portion of the Catechism before tea. The former was repeated to my mother, the latter to my father. It was not his custom to attend the evening meeting. After tea, or at candle-lighting, we were all assembled in the parlor, my father, or one of the older children, read some suitable passage of Scripture, which he explained and illustrated, frequently directing the conversation so as to make a personal application to some one or other of us. Singing and prayer followed. Occasionally some little refreshment was introduced, and we retired each at an early hour to bed. This domestic service was never interrupted until my father became a preacher and spent most of his Sabbath evenings in public worship.” What, however, seems quite as influential a factor in Dr. Wayland’s early training was the contact with religious and political discussions carried on in his father’s house. The church officers had formed an association, visiting each other’s houses at special

seasons, and making such visits the occasion in part for political debate, mainly, it seems, for "questions of doctrinal or experimental religion." Bible study formed a prominent part of the evening's occupation; but such authors as Andrew Fuller, Augustus Toplady, and John Newton, appear to have been freely quoted. With all this, from time to time, political discussions were mingled. The Baptists had suffered much from what was called the "Standing Order,"¹ which in New England had been somewhat rigorously enforced against them. This was understood to be supported by the Federalists, while the Republicans, on the other hand, favored an "unrestricted freedom in matters of religious opinion." It was natural, therefore, that the sympathies of the Baptists should lie with the latter party. The whole subject was under discussion by the Baptist laymen as they met. Nor is it difficult to imagine a young lad sitting quietly by and watching with serious eyes his elders as they discoursed on these high themes of Christian experience, doctrine, and polity. It was an education which was no mean adjunct to his early training, and its influence can be plainly traced in his later life.

By degrees the attention of the senior Wayland was turned toward the Christian ministry.

¹ Dr. Armitage's *History of the Baptists*, pp. 740-741.

He probably had shown more than common gifts in exhortation. Accordingly he sought from the church a license to preach the gospel. To secure this it was necessary, according to the practice of Baptist churches at that time, that he should preach before the church of which he was a member, his brethren deciding on his qualifications for the ministry. The custom had much to recommend it. Certain it is that if churches and congregations had the licensing power, after testing the actual gifts of candidates, some licenses would be withheld which bishops and presbyteries and councils and conferences now see fit to bestow.

Mr. Wayland successfully passed the ordeal, and June 10, 1805, received a license to preach, on the same evening with his Christian brother and lifelong friend, Daniel Sharp, of honored memory, so long the pastor of the Charles Street Baptist Church in Boston.

Dr. Wayland says that his father at first only intended to become a lay preacher. For three or four years he continued in business, preaching to destitute churches in the vicinity of New York. But the work grew on his hands. He could not serve two masters, and after long and anxious deliberation he decided to throw up his worldly vocation with all its prospects of success, and devote himself exclusively to the work

of the ministry. Accordingly he became pastor of the Baptist Church in Poughkeepsie in 1807, and subsequently of churches in Albany, Troy, and Saratoga Springs.

That Dr. Wayland's views of the importance belonging to pastoral care, and of the supreme duty of the Christian Church to have the gospel preached to the poor, views which characterized his latest work on earth, were due in great part to his father's example, is clear. Yet his early training fell mostly into the hands of his mother. His father's frequent absences from home threw him into her society. She made him her companion, relating to him anecdotes of the sufferings and deaths of martyrs, some of which were associated with the scenes of her childhood. Dr. Wayland's intense abhorrence of every form of religious intolerance was a well-known trait of his character. It is traceable in great part to the influence upon his mind of these recitals. She told him of the spot in Norwich—her birth-place—"where, in the reign of Mary, many Protestants had suffered martyrdom," and also "of the remains of an old abbey church in the dungeons of which many pious persons had been tortured." We learn from church history that Richard Bilney, the spiritual father of Latimer, and one of the noblest spirits of the English Reformation, was burned at Norwich, August

19, 1531.¹ It was to his martyrdom that she probably referred.

Dr. Wayland's Christian character was profoundly affected by the influence and by the memory of his mother. Her piety was precisely of the type to attract and to mould such a mind as his. It was intelligent and active, but with intelligence and activity seems also to have been blended a saintly type of devotion. Dr. Wayland names "her lovely humility, her childlike meekness, her touching self-denial and disinterestedness, and her tender and affecting charity" as her peculiar graces. One of her characteristic religious traits was "delight in tracing the progress of the cause of Christ, the diffusion of knowledge, and the triumphs of freedom in every part of the globe." It is easy to find this reproduced in the life of her son, and his noted sermon on "The Certain Triumph of the Redeemer's Kingdom" bears on its pages the subtle charm of early maternal teachings. Probably he owed almost as much on the intellectual side as on the religious to his mother. Her intellectual character was marked. In the letter to his father written on hearing of her death, he recalls her "superior mind, her accurate and discriminating judgment, her strong and expansive thirst for knowledge." The relations between mother and

¹ Geikie's *English Reformation*, pp. 202-204.

son were so close and constant, that her motherhood transfused its noblest qualities into the forming character of the affectionate and reverencing son. It would be difficult to find in the multiplying examples of saintly motherhood any instance more marked for spiritual beauty and for spiritual power.

Dr. Wayland's school life began inauspiciously. His first schoolmaster is described by him as a man "who never *taught* us anything," and in whose school "was only one motive to obedience, — terror." "I do not remember," say the Reminiscences, "anything approaching explanation while I was at the school. A sum was set, and the pupil left to himself to find out the method of doing it. If it was wrong, the error was marked, and he must try again. If again it was wrong, he was imprisoned after school, or he was whipped. . . . Geography was studied without a map, by the use of a perfectly dry compendium. I had no idea what was meant by bounding a country, though I duly repeated the boundaries at recitation. I studied English grammar in the same way."

Such experiences are in his case the more worthy of note because they were remembered to good purpose in his after career as a teacher. His pupils in college all recalled the fact that lucid explanation was a cardinal point in all his

instructions. His abhorrence of confused and muddy conceptions of any subject may be dated from his own sufferings in his earliest school-days. On the occasion of his father's removal to Poughkeepsie, being then in his eleventh year, he was placed in the Dutchess County Academy. At first there seemed little change for the better in the quality of instruction. Here he began the study of the classics. It was pursued at that time evidently under great difficulties. In Greek the Westminster Greek Grammar was the text-book for beginners. The text was in Latin. Students were expected to master its rules before their knowledge of Latin was equal to construing simple narrative Latin sentences. Fifteen years later, Sydney Smith satirized this method of classical study, in his article on the "Method of Teaching Languages."¹ He used the Westminster Grammar as the stalking-horse from which to shoot his arrows of wit.

"From the Westminster Grammar we make the following extract, and some thousand rules conveyed in poetry of equal merit must be fixed upon the mind of the youthful Grecian, before he advances into the interior of the language."

" ω finis thematis finis utriusque futuri est.

Post liquidem in primo, vel in unoquoque secundo,

ω circumflexus est. Ante ω finale character

Explicitus $\delta\epsilon$ primi est implicitusque futuri

ω itaque in quo δ quasi plexum est solitu in $\delta\omega$."

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, 1826.

Fortunately, however, at a later period he came under a teacher, who understood the great art of instruction. An enthusiast in his calling, he seems to have inspired his pupils with a kindred enthusiasm, to have cultivated in them also habits of self-reliance. This teacher, Mr. Daniel H. Barnes, had indeed accomplished a great part of Dr. Wayland's education when he taught his pupil "to study for the love of it and to take a pride in accurate knowledge." This was a fruitful period in his mental development. Not only in general scholarship was the progress marked by his fellow-students as well as his teacher, but he showed signs of becoming the "good, strong speaker" of later days. One of his early declamations was an extract from some orator on "Injured Africa." Injured Africa was a subject which occupied his thoughts to his latest day, and on no theme did he ever discourse more eloquently. So too his abiding interest in the career of Napoleon I. dates from these school-days. He studied that career profoundly. It fascinated him, and he was an admirer of the military genius of the great Corsican. The dread of Napoleon, which was then oppressing England, was shared to some extent by this country. After the fashion of those days, the pupils were set to dispute the following question, "If Bonaparte should conquer England, *can*

he conquer America?" Young Wayland took the affirmative, maintaining it with no little skill for a boy of his years. At this school, Dr. Wayland remained till the removal of his father to Albany in 1811. He applied for admission to the freshman class of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., in May of that year. Upon examination he was told that he could be admitted to the sophomore class, and joined it in the third term, being then fifteen years of age. His only deficiency was in mathematics, which was made up in the ensuing vacation. To his college course, so far as instruction went, he does not seem to have owed much. That he was a hard student, popular with his classmates, fond of athletic sports as well, observant of the college discipline, the testimony of his fellow-students shows. But the course of instruction must have been meagre even for that day. He says of it in the *Reminiscences*: "The course was very limited. Chemistry was scarcely born; electricity was a plaything; algebra was studied for six weeks; and geology was named only to be laughed at."

If, however, he owed little to the curriculum of study as then pursued, he owed to Dr. Nott, then in the beginning of his long and honored presidency, what was a liberal education in itself. His tributes to Dr. Nott make this abundantly

clear. And that he had shown marked ability in the mastery of his studies as well as high character, is evinced by his subsequent appointment to the position of tutor in the college. He was graduated July 28, 1813, at seventeen years of age. It marks one difference between college education in that day and this, to note that this is now hardly the average age of students at entrance in our higher institutions.

Immediately after his graduation he began a course of medical study. This was at that time pursued mainly in the offices of distinguished practitioners, supplemented, in the case of those whose means admitted of it, with a course of lectures in one of the medical schools. Following this method he studied under Dr. Moses Hale and Dr. Eli Burritt in Troy. The winter of 1814-15 was occupied in attending medical lectures in the city of New York.

It was while engaged in these professional studies that Dr. Wayland experienced a sort of intellectual regeneration. This is not uncommon in the lives of distinguished men. Readers of Carlyle will recall the well-known passage in "*Sartor Resartus*,"¹ where is described what he calls his "Spiritual new-birth, or Baphometric Fire-baptism." In the case of Dr. Wayland, it seems to have been more purely a mental trans-

¹ Book 2, chapter 7.

formation. He makes much account of it in the *Reminiscences*. After a lengthened description of his desultory habits of reading, of his inability to appreciate "abstract thought," he says:—

"I then first became conscious of a decided change in my whole intellectual character. I was sitting by a window in an attic room which I occupied as a sort of study, or reading place, and by accident I opened a volume of the '*Spectator*'—I think it was one of the essays forming Addison's Critique on Milton,—it was, at any rate, something purely didactic. I commenced reading it, and to my delight and surprise found that I understood and really enjoyed it. I could not account for the change. I read on, and found that the very essays which I had formerly passed over without caring to read them were now to me the gems of the whole book, vastly more attractive than the stories and narratives that I had formerly read with so much interest. I knew not how to account for it. I could explain it on no other theory than that a change had taken place in myself. I awoke to the consciousness that I was a thinking being, and a citizen, in some sort, of the republic of letters."

His intellectual regeneration was complete. The fondness for fiction, once strong, never returned. Aside from want of interest in this

kind of literature he seems also to have shrunk from all sorts of painful description. This change in the mental tastes which lay at the foundation of his intellectual development, occurred in his eighteenth or nineteenth year. It was followed by a spiritual regeneration, which still more profoundly affected the character and changed the currents of life for him.

Dr. Wayland was one of that class who suffered from the *theological* training too often then imposed on the young. He dwells at some length on this in his *Reminiscences*, speaks of his father's earlier views — those in which he was bred — as very rigid Calvinism, modified in later years through the teachings of Andrew Fuller. Not questioning any views which had been inculcated in him, he was yet miserable under their influence. "I believed," he says, "the truths of religion, for aught I know, as fully as I do now. But my heart was unmoved. I had some wish to be a Christian, but I had no true idea of faith or repentance, and all the theological illustrations which I heard seemed to involve the subject in deeper darkness. . . . When I reflected at all upon religion I was miserable." It is evident that his mental sufferings were both poignant and prolonged. No help came to him from sermons he heard or books he read. He was treading a solitary path, — work-

ing out his own salvation with fear and trembling. The experiences, however, which he then underwent had on him a twofold effect, — one speculative, the other practical. They made him averse to anything like closely reticulated theological systems. They made him an admirable religious guide for many a young soul entangled in religious troubles of whatever type and however begotten.

It was not till the close of his medical studies that his soul gained the needed relief. His mental sufferings had increased, until he resolved to drop everything else and bend all efforts to end the long struggle. He gave himself up to the solitude of his room, reading the Scriptures and calling upon God. It went on so for days. "How long time I remained in this condition I do not now remember. I was embarrassed by ignorance of the plan of salvation, — an ignorance all the more embarrassing because I supposed it to be knowledge. I had marked out a plan of conversion in accordance with the prevailing theological notions." The struggle seemed fruitless, and at length he returned to his usual duties. Fortunately he found in the Rev. Mr. Mattison of Vermont, a Baptist clergyman, a man who understood his case and whose wise counsels did him excellent service. The expectation of some extraordinary

inward revelation was given up, and the fact accepted that he was already a child of God. It seems strange that he was so long involved in these distressing doubts. In his *Reminiscences* he attributes much of this to the pride which desired a "striking conversion." This type of conversion was highly prized and eagerly sought in those days of burning revivals. It is possible, indeed, that he may have had some of this desire. But it seems more in accordance with the structure of his mind to think that he was unable to find rest for his soul, till he had worked his way clear through all the logical and theological difficulties caused by the early training of which mention has been made. This incident in his conversion is noteworthy as showing the falseness of notions, now happily outgrown, which made of "striking conversions" a snare for spiritual self-conceit. If for a time, as he says, he was under the power of such an ambition, it only shows the strength of the delusion then prevalent which could so entangle a nature like his, singularly free in earlier and later life from everything like ostentation.

He was baptized and received into the membership of the Baptist Church, the church of his fathers, of whose history he was proud, and his loyalty to which all his subsequent life proved. It was entirely characteristic of him that he

threw himself at once into Christian work. On the organization of a Sabbath-school in Troy, he offered his services as a teacher. The class he selected was one of colored boys, and the reasons assigned for his choice were their greater need of instruction and the opportunity thus given for "following out most closely the example of Christ." In this incident, we see the germ of that spirit which moved him, when President of Brown University, to teach a Bible class of convicts in the penitentiary at Providence.

The spiritual change which prompted this step prompted also another and greater, no less than the abandonment of the medical profession and entrance upon the ministry of the gospel. It was a serious matter to throw by the preparation of several years for active life, and enter upon a new step of preparation for a wholly different sphere of activity. He was ready to begin the practice of medicine, — had in fact already begun its practice. To engage in theological study involved pecuniary struggle, his father's means having been much diminished by financial losses. It put off indefinitely settlement in life, and necessitated arduous work on new lines of study. His interest in the science of medicine was strong, and that he would have risen to eminence in the profession there is

every reason to believe. But whatever he might have become as a medical practitioner in Troy, he never could have reached the larger fame, the nobler usefulness, he attained as a preacher and an educator. The world has been deeply the gainer by his change of callings. It was made, not without careful thought. He was never a man of impulses. It involved some degree of struggle. The work of a physician was congenial to him. He always cherished profound respect for the medical calling. But he never in any matter halted between two opinions. His decision of character was operative here, and no sooner was he reasonably sure of himself as a Christian disciple than he obeyed the divine impulse which impelled him toward the ministry of reconciliation. His home training, especially the example of his father, who had relinquished a growing and lucrative business to preach the Gospel, was a factor in his choice.

But it was least of all in his thoughts to enter upon the sacred calling without special training for it. The trend of his denomination was not, at that time, strongly toward an educated ministry. The Baptists had indeed begun their work in theological education by planting a theological institute at Waterville in 1813. But this was far distant and was not fully manned. Andover Seminary, founded in 1807, had already

gained high repute as a school of sacred learning. Princeton Seminary, founded five years later, in 1812, was rapidly gaining its honored position under the guidance of Dr. Archibald Alexander and Dr. Samuel Miller. The advantages of both institutions, respectively, were urged upon him by their friends, and carefully weighed. An acquaintance with Dr. Elias Cornelius of Boston, which later ripened into friendship, decided his choice in favor of Andover Seminary,—a choice never regretted by him. The hand of welcome, Dr. Cornelius assured him, would be extended at Andover, and also substantial aid, if desired. In the autumn of 1816 Dr. Wayland once more began student life in the Theological Seminary at Andover.

The Andover of that day was just beginning its great career as a theological seminary. There was “one four-story brick building.” The faculty was composed of Dr. Leonard Woods, Professor of Christian Theology; Dr. Ebenezer Porter, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric; and Dr. Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature. On the catalogue of that year, 1816–17, are found the names of sixty-seven students. That they made up a student-body full of intellectual as well as spiritual life is evident from such names on the roll as those of Ira Chase, one of the founders of Newton Theological Semi-

nary in 1825, and professor there for twenty years; of Joseph Torrey, for forty years connected with the University of Vermont, made its president in 1863, and still more widely known as the translator of Neander's Church History; of missionaries like Pliny Fisk, one of the first American missionaries to Western Asia; of Hiram Bingham, the veteran missionary to the Sandwich Islands; of John King, the well-known missionary to Greece; of other divines like Joel Hawes, and Henry J. Ripley, and Orville Dewey. With such men Dr. Wayland came at once into cordial sympathy. They recognized his earnestness and purpose, and he felt the stimulating power of such companionship. The simplicity of the life then in vogue, the old-time Puritan simplicity, pleased him, and he found friends on every hand. In less than half an hour from his arrival in town, he had passed his examination under Dr. Woods, and had become a member of the institution.

During his residence at Andover, he seems to have been under the tuition of only one professor. The junior class, of which he was a member, met Dr. Woods and Dr. Porter only at what was called the "Professors' Conference." This was held once a fortnight in the evening, and seems to have been a familiar lecture or discourse on topics connected with religious expe-

rience, followed by questions from the students. This service made decided impression on Dr. Wayland. He preserved his notes of these lectures. It was in its nature an exercise to interest him deeply, being thoroughly practical. At Princeton Seminary, this feature of seminary life still maintained, has marked deeply the whole history of the institution. The "Conference Papers" of Dr. Charles Hodge have illustrated its scope and power.

"It was at Andover that I first learned to study," Dr. Wayland once said. He was speaking of his instruction in the seminary by Professor Moses Stuart. His introduction to this eminent teacher occurred before he reached the institution. "I well remember," he says in his address at the semi-centennial of Andover Seminary, "my first introduction to the man to whom I owe so much. • It occurred in the stage-coach between Boston and Andover, when I was coming to enter the seminary. Professor Stuart and the late Rev. Sereno E. Dwight were among the passengers. The conversation between these two eminent men turned mainly on the Unitarian controversy, which was then occupying a large share of public attention. It was well worth a journey to Andover to witness the movement of Professor Stuart's mind upon the question. While he spoke with the highest

respect of the talents and learning of those from whom he differed, the unshaken, elastic, and joyous confidence with which he held the truth as he believed it, stirred your mind like the sound of a trumpet. He was ready at any moment to enter upon the controversy, and to carry it to the utmost limits of exegetical inquiry. All he wanted was a fair field and no favor. All he wished was the triumph of truth, and he was ever ready to surrender any religious belief he held, if he could not on the acknowledged principles of interpretation show that it was taught in the Holy Scriptures." The ride in this stage-coach from Boston to Andover with Professor Stuart was for Dr. Wayland one of those crises in life, apparently trivial, but moulding and coloring the whole future. From that hour began a friendship, the influence of which Dr. Wayland never ceased to feel. It was just such a mind and just such a spirit as would at once impress, delight, and hold him under their sway. It was no ill-fortune which placed him for that year mainly, if not wholly, under the teachings of Moses Stuart. His entire time was thus given to exegetical study, both of the Old and New Testaments. The picture he has drawn of his student life is worth preserving, as furnishing a view of the demands of theological discipline in those days. The "laborare" and the "orare" were duly mingled.

“I have risen through the shortest days at six o'clock, nearly an hour before it was light enough to see to read. That is the time of the ringing of the first bell through the term. From six to seven is spent in private and family devotion. At seven the bell rings for prayers, which one of the senior class conducts. The exercises are singing, reading a portion of Scripture, and prayer. Thence we repair to breakfast. From breakfast till nine o'clock is, or ought to be, devoted to exercise. At nine we commence study, and study till half past twelve, when we eat dinner. From one to three, study. At three, recitation. This generally continues till prayers at five. After prayers (in the evening by the professors in rotation), supper. After supper, a little exercise, and then study or writing till half past ten. From that time till eleven, devotions; at eleven, bed. Sometimes we go to bed a little earlier. On Mondays and Thursdays we recite Hebrew; on Tuesdays and Fridays, Greek. There is no skimming over the surface here. A man must go to the bottom if he goes at all.”

It is evident from this account that life at Andover Seminary in those days was serious business. Something of this ancient rigidity has doubtless been relaxed according to modern notions. The demand was none too rigid for the men of that day. They seem to have survived

it, and to have been all the better equipped for their work as ministers by dint of it. At least this was the case with Dr. Wayland. There can be no doubt that his original capacity for hard work was great, and as little doubt that this Andover régime developed that capacity to its utmost tension. There were difficulties in the path of the student of Hebrew in those days which have long disappeared. The only text-book in Hebrew Grammar then accessible to students was that published by Professor Stuart in 1813. It was only a compendium, and without vowel-points. To the class of which Dr. Wayland was a member, he gave instruction by lectures on Hebrew Grammar, using the vowel-points. These lectures were taken down by the class in note-books. It is a proof of Professor Stuart's genius that lecturing thus on a subject dry as Hebrew Grammar, he could raise enthusiasm in all his pupils. Students suffered also from the expensiveness of books. A Hebrew Bible and lexicon cost at that time from thirty to forty dollars. Dr. Wayland once showed his sons a copy of Schleusner's New Testament Lexicon, in two volumes, bound in parchment, and said, "While I was at Andover I had ten dollars left; I was very much in want of a coat. I had an opportunity to buy this book for ten dollars, and so I went without the coat."

The year was one of more or less anxiety due to pecuniary embarrassment. At its close he found himself so straitened for want of means that he was compelled to look about for some employment in teaching. The kindness of Andover friends had been unfailing. They had supplied his board and possibly other aid. But the end of his first year in Andover Seminary found him face to face with the problem of his own support. In fact, the entire year had been a struggle with poverty. It depressed his spirits. It was not in his nature to live comfortably in dependence on others. He saw no prospect of being able to increase his slender resources by any labors while in the seminary. It grieved him to be taxing the devoted kindness of his parents, when he knew at what sacrifice their aid was rendered. In short, it was an experience in life which he never forgot. It left its traces on him through life in a horror of debt and in a true sympathy with that class of deserving students who worry through their education on scanty means.

At this juncture he received a letter from his friend and former teacher, Professor McAuley, informing him of a vacancy in one of the tutorships at Union College. This opened a door of escape from the pressure of financial burdens. He made application for it, and promptly re-

ceived the appointment. This is characteristically noticed in his *Reminiscences*: "I have received many appointments since, some of which seemed important; some instances of what men call good fortune have happened to me; but I cannot recollect anything of the kind that afforded me so much joy as this. It gave me the means of living; it enabled me to pursue my studies, and it was a sort of recognition of ability and acquisition which I had never hoped for, but which was all the more gratifying."

It is not strange that Dr. Wayland hailed this appointment as tutor at Union College with such joy. It did not mean that he was faltering in his purpose to pursue his theological education. It meant for him an exemption from a dependence on others that galled his spirit. It was definitely his purpose to return and resume the course of study in Andover Seminary. That this purpose was never carried out is true. In some respects it was unfortunate for him. Aside from the importance to him of a more thorough theological training than he ever gained, the mental discipline of two more years under such masters in such studies could not be replaced by any experience in teaching. As it was, however, the year spent at Andover Seminary was invaluable. His studies under Moses Stuart did far more for him than simply

to qualify him in exegesis for his future study of the Bible. They brought him under the educating influence of a teacher who quickened and moulded his whole mental development. It gave him the highest ideal of a teacher. It tended largely to make of Dr. Wayland the princely teacher he was in subsequent years in Brown University. It endowed him with the spirit of fearless investigation, which, truth-loving as he was by nature, ruled all his intellectual conduct. "If I do not err," he said in his address at the semi-centennial celebration of Andover Seminary, alluding to Professor Stuart, "he was one of the most remarkable teachers of his age. His acquaintance with his subject in the class-room was comprehensive and minute. There was no sacrifice in his power which he did not rejoice to make if by it he could promote the progress of his pupils. It seems as if all he asked of us was, that we should aid him in his efforts to confer on us the largest amount of benefit. He allowed and encouraged the largest freedom of inquiry in the recitation-room, and was never impatient of any question if the object of it was either to elicit truth or to detect error. . . . This alone would have been sufficient to place Moses Stuart in the first class of instructors. But to this he added a power of arousing enthusiasm such as I have never elsewhere seen. The living earnestness of his own

spirit kindled to a flame everything that came in contact with it."

The influence of this gifted teacher on him must be distinctly recognized as one of the more powerful factors in shaping Dr. Wayland's career as a leader in religious and educational movements. While Professor Stuart never had under him a pupil more receptive or more gifted, it is equally true that Dr. Wayland never could have done his work in life but for the training he received at the hands of Moses Stuart.

Nor was this the only debt which Dr. Wayland owed to his Andover life. His natural bent was averse from all narrowness. He never could have been a party man under any circumstances. His love of broad and generous views was innate. He was catholic in his sympathies. But the warm reception, the delicate kindness received at the hands of his Andover friends among the Congregationalists, intensified his own catholicity. His student life at Andover left him none the less a Baptist. But his associations at Andover Seminary and Union College with Christians of different communions were such that they educated in him that noble freedom from all mere sectarianism, that large, profound sympathy with his Christian brethren in all denominations, which was no secondary element in his subsequent usefulness. To this, he bears direct and graceful testimony in his *Reminiscences*.

CHAPTER II.

TUTORSHIP AT UNION COLLEGE: BOSTON PASTORATE, 1817-1827.

To a clergyman who made to him the remark, "Wherever I have been, I have always been thinking of something else, and preparing for another position," Dr. Wayland rejoined, "I have gone on just the opposite principle. Whatever I was doing, I have always fixed my mind on that one thing, and tried not to think of anything else." In this spirit, he entered on his duties as tutor. He was charged in his first year with the instruction of the Freshman class in the classics. The class was small; but three recitations a day were required. The instruction must have been mainly elementary, commentaries and lexicons were few. It shows the poverty of all such helps that the "library contained not even a valuable Greek lexicon, and hardly anything better in Latin."

In his second year, his duties as instructor were much enlarged. In that and subsequent years he was called on to teach most of the studies in the curriculum, and to instruct all the

classes in college. He wrote lectures on rhetoric and natural philosophy. The limited resources of the institution compelled such a concentration of work into the hands of a single teacher. The work in any one of these departments was enough for one man's powers and time. It marks the great advance in our collegiate institutions, that no such arrangement would be now tolerated for a moment in any well ordered college. For Dr. Wayland himself it may have had its advantages. It was described by himself as "a review of his college studies."

Mainly this tutorship was of advantage to him as bringing him still more under the influence of the president of the college, Dr. Nott. The friendship between them was knitted in daily intercourse and lasted through life. Dr. Wayland was strongly impressed by those qualities in Dr. Nott which gave him so wide an influence. After Professor Stuart, no other man had so much to do in moulding the future president of Brown University. The scholarship of Professor Stuart, and his unrivaled powers as a teacher, found as supplementary elements in shaping the career of Dr. Wayland, the large sagacity and the practical wisdom of Dr. Nott.

College friendships are often powerful factors in the subsequent life. They furnish influences which outlive the instructions of the class-room.

The attrition of mind upon mind in college-days in the case of closely associated friends is an education in itself. The inner history of the Oxford movement, so deeply affecting the future of the Church of England, can be truly read only in the college lives of the remarkable group of endeared friends like Keble and Pusey and Newman. The college classmates with whom Dr. Wayland was brought into relations of intimacy during his tutorship were Benjamin P. Wisner, subsequently pastor of the Old South Church in Boston; and Alonzo Potter, afterward bishop of the diocese of Pennsylvania. It is through the gates of intellectual sympathy that often the subtlest influences come upon the soul. This sympathy between the three friends was perfect. The bond of Christian sympathy also existed; and thus the intellectual and moral character of every member of the little group was built up in a sort of mental and spiritual commonalty. Every one fulfilled a high and useful career, and for its fulfillment, the college friendship of those days at Union College secured essential equipment. For Dr. Wayland, this tutorship at Union College was a providential training for his life-work as an educator. It gave him insight into the interior life of a college. It disclosed to him existing defects in the curriculum of studies. It developed in

him his natural instincts as a teacher. It revealed to him the possibilities for good in such institutions, as seminaries of Christian education. That he fulfilled well his part in the work intrusted to him is evident from the fact that he was later in life recalled to an important professorship, that of moral philosophy.

Meantime his friend Wisner, who had gone to Princeton Theological Seminary, was urging him to resume theological study at that institution. To this, indeed, Dr. Wayland would not have been averse. Poverty only stood in the way. In a little gathering of theological students in the room of Howard Malcolm, subsequently a distinguished Baptist clergyman, casual mention was made by Mr. Wisner and Mr. William B. Sprague, afterward so well known as Dr. Sprague of Albany, of the rare ability and poverty of the tutor in Union College. Mr. Malcolm, who had wealth, generously offered to advance the means for completing his theological education at Princeton. The offer was promptly communicated. No reply came for some time. At last it was received, and an explanation of the delay was given. The letter had been missent to Canandaigua. In the interval he had committed himself to remaining at Union College. "If," Dr. Wayland said in his reply, "the facts communicated in your letter had been known a

few days sooner, I should by this time have been at Princeton." Commenting on the incident long afterwards in the *Reminiscences*, he says, "My destiny in life has been materially affected by the blunder of a postmaster: and I believe that this blunder was directed by infinite wisdom and love. I could not but look upon it as a special providence, intimating my duty in a manner not to be misunderstood. With this event, all my plans for pursuing study at a theological seminary ended." He had now entered upon his fourth year as tutor, — the last as it turned out. There was in store for him another and very different training for the work of the ministry. That it left lasting and beneficial influences on his character there is no room to doubt. He was thrown directly under the influence of one of those deep religious movements called "revivals," of which Dr. Asahel Nettleton was, humanly speaking, the centre and soul. All accounts agree in ascribing to Dr. Nettleton gifts of the highest order for such a work. He knew just as well how to guard against the abuses of "revivalism" as how to guide its forces. He relied on intelligent views of divine truth far more than on passionate appeals in his preaching. He was discreet in his methods, and had the power of insight into character, which in his private interviews seemed like intuition. The

religious awakening under Dr. Nettleton which had begun in a neighboring town, extended to the college. Into its promotion and guidance Dr. Wayland threw himself heart and soul. He became personally acquainted with Dr. Nettleton,—was in close intercourse with him. The result of participation in this religious work and of his intercourse with Dr. Nettleton soon became apparent. His desire to preach the Gospel of Christ was quickened. He at once resolved to forego the additional theological training from which want of means had debarred him, and to begin the work of the ministry with such resources as he could command. He gave what time could be spared from college duties, with which he had become familiar, to some special preparation for the sacred office.

This preparation seems to have consisted partly in a review of studies commonly pursued by candidates for the ministry, partly in the construction of sermons under the supervision of Dr. Nott. It was made still more practical by an exercise of his gifts as a preacher in supplying “the little church at Burnt Hills, a village between Schenectady and Ballston.” This homiletic training was evidently of no mean sort. Dr. Nott himself was a preacher of great gifts, also a kind and faithful critic.

Beside the homiletic instruction which he had

from Dr. Nott, Dr. Wayland gained much from the exercise of his gifts in out-stations. He used both extemporaneous and written discourses. He "wrote and rewrote with endless care and anxiety." This blending of the two methods left its mark upon him as a preacher. It is doubtful whether, in any of the schools, he could have had a better training for the pulpit.

He had now been four years in Union College as a tutor. As his mind was made up to enter on the work of the Christian ministry, there was no inducement for him to continue in his tutorial office. He announced his purpose of resigning it at the close of the academic year. The question before him was what should be the field of his future labor as a preacher. His attention was first drawn to the West, which then meant nothing beyond the Mississippi, and little beyond Lake Erie. But Providence had chosen for him an eastern field.

His friends had not forgotten him. Dr. Wisner had been called to Boston as pastor of the Old South Church. (It happened that the First Baptist Church of that city was without a pastor. Dr. Wisner urged upon the church officers the consideration of his friend Wayland for the place. That church had enjoyed the ministrations of a succession of gifted preachers, notably those of the Rev. Dr. Stillman. Not

unnaturally, therefore, their aim was high in the choice of a pastor. Making all abatements for an overweening sense of the importance of the position, it was evident that none but a man of strength and tact could fill it. Dr. Wisner's commendation of his friend was listened to favorably. An invitation was sent to the young preacher, asking him to visit the church and preach to them for a season. This invitation was accepted, and in the spring vacation of that year, 1821, he came to Boston taking with him eight sermons, the product of his winter's toil in sermon writing. The eight sermons were preached on four successive Sundays. He had interviews with the leading members of the church, who were men of sound discernment, calm judgment, and influential character. Theological matters were freely discussed. It seems to have been a sort of theological examination to which Dr. Wayland in no wise objected. There was hesitation, however, as to extending an immediate call. A second visit was proposed by some. This he promptly declined. The wiser heads then brought the matter to an issue. It resulted in a call to become the pastor, not, indeed, by any means unanimous. He had secured, fortunately, the support of the influential men. The minority were in favor of a candidate with more popular gifts.

His friends, Dr. Nott and Professor Stuart, treated this, however, as a matter of slight consequence. They had taken his measure and they were sure of his ultimate success. Professor Stuart urged his acceptance on broader grounds than simply the building up of the decadent church. "The cause here," he wrote, "absolutely and imperiously demands a man like you, who has depth of exegetical lore, who can meet the Unitarians on ground where he is unlikely to feel his inferiority, or be put to the blush. Besides Providence College [Brown University] must have such trustees, or it is ruined forever. Radical changes must be made in order to save it. You want more weight, more literature here, to do this."

Under the advice of these friends, and relying on the wisdom and fidelity of those who had called him, and who never afterward failed him, the call was accepted. At the close of the college year he came to Boston; was ordained pastor August 21, 1821. The text of Dr. Sharp's sermon at his ordination was felicitously chosen, — 1 Cor. xvi. 10: "Now if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear: for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do." The problem of success in the new field had its dark side. In eastern Massachusetts, Unitarianism had gained great headway, through legal

decisions of the courts, through the controlling influence of Harvard College, and through the power of wealth and social influence combined. In Boston its influence was predominant. All the older Congregational churches save the Old South had become Unitarian. Congregationalism was struggling hard to recover its lost ground, and waxed valiant in fight. Besides its churches there were but three Episcopal, two Methodist, and three Baptist churches, who represented the ancient faith. The pulpits of the Unitarian churches were all in the hands of able men, gifted preachers and scholars of high reputation, while the congregations which filled them on every Sabbath were composed of all, or nearly all, the wealthier and more cultivated classes in the town, then having a population of over forty thousand inhabitants.

The church to which he had been called was not in some respects an inviting field of labor. Its house of worship was unattractive in architecture, and, being at the North End, was ill situated. The population had begun to drift away to more attractive parts of the city. The congregation had lessened in numbers, and its harmony was disturbed. The minority, opposed to calling Dr. Wayland, were not disposed to heed the teachings of Dr. Sharp in the ordination sermon. They adopted more than ques-

tionable methods of attack on the new ministry. Anonymous letters were sent to the pastor. Some forsook attendance on his ministry, traveling some miles out of town to hear the man preach on whom they had set their hearts. It would be difficult to find an instance where ministerial success was achieved in the face of greater obstacles. Dr. Wayland met them with the practical wisdom which was a leading trait of his mind. Anonymous letters were quickly burned and forgotten. When it was proposed at one of the church meetings to discipline those members who had forsaken his ministry for attendance elsewhere, Dr. Wayland firmly opposed all such measures, and offered to facilitate the attendance of the poorer members elsewhere if they desired it, by providing carriages for them, his own purse to contribute toward the expense. He refused to be told who were the dissentients. One of them he saved from failure in business, by interposing in his behalf with a principal creditor. When discipline was necessary, it was administered in the tenderest and calmest spirit. He was skillful in his judgment as to measures, and accurate in that as to men. He sought and followed the advice of such men as Dr. Baldwin and Dr. Sharp. He sought also to promote fraternal union among the Baptist churches. His relations with the

Unitarian churches were friendly, for he had been wise enough to engage in no doctrinal crusade against them, preaching positive truth as he held it, and not controversial discourses. Some of his best friends and sincerest admirers were found among the clergy and laity of that body.

The pulpit was, however, his main reliance for ultimate success. He was sedulous in discharging pastoral duties. They came hard to him. He was wanting in the facility of social intercourse which makes pastoral visitation easy. He was more at home in his study and among his books. He thus held on the even tenor of his way, gaining slowly, at times much depressed for want of more rapid and visible progress. The early years of that Boston pastorate found this problem still a problem. It had not been wholly solved. Thus passed the first two years of his ministry in Boston.

Labors outside his parish cares soon began to be thrust upon him. At a very early period his ministerial brethren recognized the ability in him to lead his denomination along its chosen lines of advance. In 1823, he was appointed an associate editor of the "American Baptist Magazine," a bimonthly, of which Dr. Thomas Baldwin was editor in chief, and of which Dr. Wayland, on the death of Dr. Baldwin, assumed the sole charge. The principal aim of the magazine

was to diffuse missionary intelligence among the Baptist churches, both as to the foreign and home fields. But along with this were original articles discussing the subjects of denominational interest. It held the same position among the Baptists that the "Panoplist" did among the Congregationalists. The need of information regarding missionary efforts was, in the infancy of foreign missions, if possible, of greater urgency than now. This editorship of the "Baptist Magazine" is the earliest public evidence of Dr. Wayland's undying interest in the subject. It had been kindled at his mother's knee. It grew throughout the whole course of his life. There was one series of articles written by him for the magazine which deserves notice as showing the changed opinions of his later years. "I am built railroad fashion," he was wont to say. "I can go forward if necessary, and if necessary I can take the back track — but I cannot go sideways." After discussing the general subject of associations, their province, their ends, and their defects, he proceeded to advocate a federation of the associations into a general convention. "The associations in one State could easily send delegates to a state convention. This would embody all the information and concentrate the energies of a State. These state conventions could send delegates to a general convention, and

thus the whole denomination might be brought into concentrated and united action." By a system of delegates and correspondence he thought "the Baptists on both sides the Atlantic would be united in a solid phalanx."

He abandoned these views wholly. In his "Notes on the Principles and Practice of Baptist Churches," he has stated his change of view with unreserved freedom.¹ After reviewing the history of the movement, he adds these words, "I now rejoice exceedingly that the whole plan failed, and that it failed through the sturdy common sense of the masses of our brethren."

He was now to render a far more important service to the Baptist churches, and indeed to Christendom, than that of conducting any publication of missionary intelligence. His editorial labors had inspired and qualified him for the task before him. When he entered upon it he did not foresee the great issue in missionary results he was set in the providence of God to meet. "He builded better than he knew."

He had been chosen to preach the annual sermon before the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of Boston. The custom had been fruitful of good results, but hitherto these results were mainly local and temporary. The audience gathered on such occasions was composed mainly

¹ Section 31, p. 183.

of attendants upon the three Baptist churches of the city, with such others as the special service might tempt or the preacher attract. No one dreamed that the coming sermon was to have the Christian world for its audience, and mark an epoch in the progress of missionary effort.

The evening came for its delivery; the evening of Sunday, October 26, 1823. It was rainy and cold. The northeast wind of the New England coast seemed to chill the small audience that found its way through the storm to the meeting-house of the First Baptist Church. It chilled also the preacher, who wore his great coat through the service. Without and within the atmosphere was depressing. "His manner in the pulpit was unattractive; he was tall, lean, angular, spoke with but little action, rarely withdrawing his hands from his pockets, save to turn a leaf, his eye seldom meeting the sympathetic eye of the audience." So his biographers have described his ordinary appearance and manner in the pulpit. The majestic personal presence of later years had not then been reached.

The appointment had to be met, the duty gone through with. And so the preacher rose, read the text, Matthew xiii. 38, "The field is the world," announced his theme to be the "Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise," delivered the sermon, dismissed the audience, and

went to his home utterly depressed at what seemed to him a dead failure. On the morning following he said to a friend, "It was a complete failure. It fell perfectly dead."

It is impossible to understand the scope, the bearing, and the ultimate impression made by this discourse, unless the condition of the missionary enterprise at that date be considered. It had been fighting its way for a quarter of a century to the confidence of the churches and of the community. Public opinion had to be converted to its favor. That had assumed a permanent antagonism, which found expression and countenance in Sydney Smith's sharp attack on Missions, in the "Edinburgh Review," as endangering the lives of all who went on them, as in fact wanton and wicked waste. One of the directors of the East India Company, when the question of permitting Christian missionaries to enter their domain came up, said, "He would see a band of devils let loose in India, rather than a band of missionaries." Statesmen like Fox uttered public disapproval of missionary effort.¹ Only ten years before the delivery of this discourse the Massachusetts legislature had refused to grant a charter to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Men of high posi-

¹ *Lectures on Baptist History*, pp. 300, 301, by William R. Williams.

tion opposed the application stubbornly. It was at last obtained only by the persistent efforts of its friends.¹ Nor had the opposition died away. The passage in the introductory part of the sermon alluding to this fact must be kept in mind, if the aim and the success of the discourse are to be rightly judged.

After an allusion to the prevalent apathy in regard to the work of evangelizing the world, Dr. Wayland proceeded to say: "The reason for all this we shall not on this occasion pretend to assign. We have time only to express our regret that such should be the fact. Confining ourselves, therefore, to the bearing which this moral bias has upon the missionary cause, it is with pain we are obliged to believe that there is *a large and most respectable portion of our fellow-citizens, for many of whom we entertain every sentiment of personal esteem, and to whose opinions on most other subjects we bow with unfeigned deference, who look with perfect apathy upon the present system of exertions for evangelizing the heathen; and we have been greatly misinformed if there be not another, though a very different, class, who consider these exertions a subject for ridicule.*"² Perhaps it may tend somewhat to arouse the apathy of

¹ *Memorial Volume A. B. C. F. M.*, chap. 3, pp. 71-78.

² The italics are ours.

the one party, as well as to moderate the contempt of the other, if we can show that this very missionary cause combines within itself the elements of all that is sublime in human purpose. Nay, combines them in a loftier proportion than any other enterprise which was ever linked with the destinies of man."

The passage italicized is the key to this discourse. Viewed thus, it is adapted to its purpose with consummate skill. The ornate style, the march of its thought, the vividness of its pictures, the solemn eloquence of its periods, the depth and strength of its doctrinal views, are all combined to make a single, clear, and overwhelming impression, and that, the theme as announced, the moral dignity of the missionary enterprise. It was composed in a single week, and once rewritten, — two other sermons having been written the same week. But it would be a great mistake to infer that it was not the growth of much thought. It gathered up the impressions accumulating through years. The sources of its cogent eloquence are to be found in that early interest for the advancement of the kingdom of God, inspired by his mother; "in the admiring love for the missionary schemes, inspired in him by the eloquence of Luther Rice; in the many walks to South Troy, as he sought to gain something which he might offer to the cause of the

Redeemer ; in the religious fervor kindled anew by Asahel Nettleton ; in the stirring news from all parts of the mission field which passed before his eyes as editor of the 'Baptist Magazine,' and especially in the glowing letters by which Judson pleaded with Christendom in behalf of the millions of heathenism, and in the presence of that noblest of American women, the wife of Judson, whose tireless energy and feminine fascination inspired by a holy cause and a divine love had kindled in him a sympathetic fervor, and whose well-remembered face and 'heaven-directed eye' lent inspiration as he wrote."¹

The preacher was mistaken. The sermon had not fallen dead. Small as the audience was, there were some discerning hearers who knew what the pregnant sentences meant, that they were words for the hour and met a solemn exigency in the progress of missionary work. It was therefore published. The response was immediate. The impression made by the discourse in print upon the Christian public was profound.

The American Tract Society enrolled it among their permanent publications. A year or two later it was republished in England with a commendatory paper, by Dr. Ralph Wardlaw, and in England, as in America, stimulated the zeal, raised the courage, and broadened the views

¹ *Life of Wayland*, vol. i. pp. 169-170.

of all friends of the missionary enterprise. It was translated into continental tongues, and did its work there as in England. No more sneers at missionary effort were uttered, at least by Christian ministers like Sydney Smith. No more apologies were made for undertaking a really heroic work. Christian missions needed a defense. It had been fully given. A half century later, Max Müller, in the nave of Westminster Abbey, gave a lecture on missions, which in tone is identical with that of Dr. Wayland's *Missionary Discourse*.

Eighteen months later he preached two sermons on the Duties of an American Citizen, which at once attracted attention. The first discussed "the present intellectual and political condition of the nations of Europe;" the second, "the relation which this country sustains to the nations of Europe." Both exemplify the broad, generalizing habit of his mind in dealing with political questions from the religious standpoint. Both show his watchfulness as an observer of events at home and abroad, and his intense love of civil and religious freedom. In the conclusion of the second, he alluded to the probability that "some of [those] who now hear me will see fifty millions of souls enrolled on the census of these United States." It was a bold prophecy, but more than fulfilled.

Two master passions controlled Dr. Wayland's life: one was love for the kingdom of Christ, the other was zeal for humane effort. His religion was broadened by his philanthropy, and his philanthropy was inspired and trained by his religion. If the *Missionary Discourse* exhibits in its full play the first of these passions, the sermons on the *Duties of an American Citizen* exhibit the second, with equal felicity of argument, equal vividness of illustration, and possibly with a higher stamp of oratory.

The publication¹⁸²³ of these discourses fixed at once Dr. Wayland's position. They gave him a name abroad as well as at home. Not yet thirty years of age, he had gained his place as the leading Baptist divine of this country. His fellow-Christians of other communions hailed him as a leader in religious thought and activity. His voice was now to be heard on all public questions affecting the interests of his denomination, and soon on the broader arena of education and philanthropy. His growing reputation made him an influential member of committees and conventions. This work engrossed his time and diverted him from studies in which he was interested. He subsequently deplored this as so much distraction from the higher pastoral work. It seems, withal, the necessary incident to such positions as he was holding, and is not without

compensating advantages in practical training, besides on some occasions giving opportunities of very valuable service. A signal instance of this, in the case of Dr. Wayland, is found in his rescue of the Triennial Convention from what seemed a fatal divergence from its original plan and purpose. This body had been founded in 1814 for a single object,—sending the gospel to the heathen. It was a representative assembly, composed “not of representatives of *churches* as such, but of representatives chosen by the contributors to foreign missions.”

Soon, however, educational projects were incorporated into its scheme. In 1817, it was voted to “institute a classical and theological seminary,” which was established at Philadelphia. Next, in 1821, Columbian College was founded in Washington, D. C. Matters went so far in this direction that it was voted to “loan ten thousand dollars from the mission funds to assist in the erection of the Columbian College.”

At this stage, the friends of foreign missions, Dr. Wayland prominently among them, were roused by what seemed to them an endangering of the great missionary movement by diversion of interest from it. A report on the whole subject, prepared by Dr. Wayland, and found among his papers, shows him resolute and armed against the project. At the meeting of the

Triennial Convention held in New York city in 1826, he was present as a delegate. The subject was fully canvassed in a strong debate. In that debate he took a leading part. As the author of the great missionary sermon his counsels would have carried weight. But his ability in debate, his "cool, conclusive reasonings," to quote the language of Dr. Baron Stow, and his eminent fairness of mind, brought back the convention to its original purpose. Young as he was, he was looked up to as a sagacious and safe leader in ecclesiastical affairs. He was gaining in point of influence by his participation in such labors all, and more than all, he was losing in the acquisitions of his study.

The ministry in Boston continued till the summer of 1826. It was hard, uphill work. Notwithstanding the reputation he had gained, and despite his unremitting and devoted toils in the pulpit and in the parish, there was no marked growth in the congregation to which he was ministering. His church was badly located. "Downtown churches," then as now, contend against great odds. He proposed its removal to a more attractive site, with a new church edifice. The project of removal met with no response. He had been married in the year previous (1825) to Miss Lucy L. Lincoln, and was living on a very meagre salary. There was

no prospect of any increase. The outside cares, apart from his proper parish work, were engrossing and exhausting. Though he was deeply attached to his people, and his people were equally attached to him, he had evidently reached a point where other openings for work would be considered if they presented themselves.

When, therefore, in the spring of 1826, his friend Dr. Nott wrote, asking whether he would accept the professorship in Union College made vacant by the resignation of Dr. Alonzo Potter, he was in a mood to consider the matter favorably. After some deliberation, he decided to accept the appointment, and at the monthly meeting of the church, in July, he resigned the pastoral charge. In his *Reminiscences*, Dr. Wayland made the following comments upon this important step in his career. It was a turning-point in his life. He had been in unconscious training for a post very different in its labors, but for which such a training was a solid and valuable equipment. It is evident that he looked back upon the scene of his early pastoral labors with the changed vision of years. But the heart of a Christian pastor beat in that sturdy bosom to its last throb.

“When I resigned my place, it was a matter of great surprise, and I believe of sincere pain,

to my people. I found that they loved me much better than I had supposed; indeed had I known, before I was pledged, how sincerely they were attached to me, I think I should never have left them. This attachment has continued to the present day. No member of that church or congregation, now after thirty-five years, ever meets me without the most affectionate recognition, and none love me more than those who at first, bitterly opposed me. I was settled in Boston for five years. I did not then understand the value of the element of time in producing results. I supposed that changes might be effected more rapidly than was actually possible. I also underrated the effects which had been produced. Many persons, comparing the condition of the church when I left them with its condition when I entered on my ministry, considered my labors more than commonly useful."

Dr. Wayland's estimate of his Boston ministry as given in the *Reminiscences* is not favorable. His criticism of it is both severe and sweeping. He condemns his manner of preaching, "reading his sermons rather than preaching without manuscript." He calls it the "great error of [his] life as a preacher." He condemns also his sermons, as lacking in the simple and homely address essential to true popular effect, and as constructed too much on lines of an ambitious,

intellectual display. He was equally severe as a critic upon his pastoral work. "I also erred, during my ministry, in respect to visiting my people. From the amount of outdoor religious business, I had but scant time for this duty, especially during the last part of my settlement. . . . I also erred in the manner of it. I did not deal faithfully enough with my people." He expresses very keen regrets over his absorption in ecclesiastical matters outside his parish work, especially his labors in connection with the "Triennial Convention, the State Convention, and the Magazine."

Such a review of his Boston pastorate is too disparaging. As to the "written" sermons, and "reading" them instead of extempore discourse, it is very questionable whether Dr. Wayland could ever have influenced an audience more by the exchange of method. As to his pastoral work, surely the pastor who could recall "edifying religious conversation with members of [his] church over the wash-tub" has not much to reproach himself with in the line of duty. As to the outside labors with all their time-absorbing demands, he should have remembered that the First Baptist Church in Boston was made for the kingdom of God, and not the kingdom of God for the First Baptist Church of Boston. He was marked by the finger of God's

Providence for a public man, a leader of the people. The Divine Providence, which never puts an untrained instrument to do the work of a Moses or a John the Baptist, gave him his training very largely in the labors outside the parish visitations, in the chair of the editor, in the sessions of committees, and in the debates of conventions.

In his "Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel," Dr. Wayland accents the criticism on his Boston pastorate still more strongly.¹ No one will for a moment question his absolute sincerity. It only indicates that his ideal of the ministry became higher and higher the more he studied the workings of our actual Christianity. There were no such criticisms passed by others upon his ministerial career. The Boston ministry was begun under very great difficulties in the face of considerable opposition. It had ended for him in an assured and advancing reputation as a preacher of the gospel, in a sound if not brilliant success in building up the church under his care, in a united and working parish.

In the same work,² Dr. Wayland says "in exchanging the ministry for the work of education, though I acted with the sanction of all my brethren, I think, I erred." It would be useless

¹ Letter X., p. 197 *et seq.*

² *Letters on the Christian Ministry*, p. 201.

to speculate on what he might have done had he remained in his Boston pulpit, or if he had "soon returned to the ministry to commence it under different auspices."¹ That he would have been an eminent and eminently faithful preacher and pastor is clear. That he would have been a wise and capable denominational leader is manifest. But the currents of his life were to flow in different channels. He did not know then that Divine Providence intended his main work to be on wholly different lines, nor that when he started for Schenectady, he took the first step in the new direction. ✓ He went to Union College in September, 1826, leaving for a time his family in Boston. He entered at once on his office as Professor of Moral Philosophy, temporarily also filling the chair of Mathematics and that of Natural Philosophy. ✓ His work opened pleasantly. He resumed his former occupation as teacher with ease and readiness. Here, in his old home, amid endeared and cherished relations, especially with Dr. Nott, the president, the city pastor was merging into the college professor. But before he had been fairly launched in the new career, Dr. Messer resigned the Presidency of Brown University.

¹ *Letters on the Christian Ministry*, p. 200.

CHAPTER III.

PRESIDENCY OF BROWN UNIVERSITY.

1827-1840.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, Providence, Rhode Island, was founded in 1764. Its original corporate name was "The Trustees and Fellows of the College or University in the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England in America." That name in 1804 was changed to Brown University, in recognition of the munificent gifts to the college from Nicholas Brown. While the charter provided that the President "shall forever be of the denomination called Baptists or Anti-pædobaptists," it also provided in its government for a minority representation of other religious bodies; in the Board of Trustees, for five Friends or Quakers, four Congregationalists, five Episcopalians, the remaining twenty-two "forever [to be] elected of the denomination called Baptists or Anti-pædobaptists. In the Board of Fellows, it provided for eight Baptists, and the remaining four "indifferently of any or all denominations."

The charter also enacted and provided "That

into this liberal and catholic institution shall never be admitted any religious tests: But, on the contrary all the members hereof shall forever enjoy full, free, absolute, and uninterrupted liberty of conscience; And that the place of Professors, Tutors, and all other offices, the President alone excepted, shall be free and open for all denominations of Protestants. And that youth of all religious denominations shall and may be freely admitted to the equal advantages, emoluments, and honors of the College or University." This charter has been fitly characterized by Professor Kingsley,¹ as "undoubtedly in many respects one of the best college charters in New England," and the institution has throughout its history deserved the name of a "catholic, comprehensive, and liberal institution."²

In the Reminiscences, Dr. Wayland mentions that "about the time of my leaving Boston, Dr. Messer, the President of Brown University, was on the point of resigning. I had been urged to become a candidate for the office. My friends in the vicinity of Boston, especially Dr. Sharp and Dr. Bolles, pressed it. In the course of the autumn, Dr. Messer resigned. I had now become very pleasantly situated at Schenectady. My feelings, however, turned toward New England,

¹ *Life of Dr. Ezra Stiles.*

² Charter.

and the hope of doing something for my own denomination had much weight with me. There was some doubt as to the election, as one or two candidates beside myself had been presented. I had but little anxiety about the result, although the uncertainty was annoying."

He was unanimously chosen President of Brown University, December 13, 1826, his distinguished predecessors having been James Manning, Jonathan Maxy, and Asa Messer, all men of high endowments and exalted character. To preside over an institution so catholic in the tone and terms of its charter, was congenial to the spirit and training of Dr. Wayland. He was glad also to identify his fortunes with those of a community founded by Roger Williams. None more than he revered the traditions of Rhode Island. Roger Williams' doctrine,¹ "not that men of various beliefs should be tolerated by the civil power, but the far broader and more fruitful principle that the civil power has nothing whatever to do with religious belief, save when it leads to some actual violation of social order," was a doctrine which seemed to Dr. Wayland a foundation principle in social structure. He was the more ready to take charge of the principal Baptist College in the country that he might do his part in leading his denomination

¹ *Discourse on Roger Williams.* Professor J. L. Diman.

forward in the great educational work then opening before the nation.¹ Therefore he had no hesitation as to accepting the office to which he had been called. Resigning, accordingly, the chair in Union College, upon whose duties he had entered in the autumn of 1826, he began his work as President of Brown University at Providence in February, 1827.

It is well worthy of remark that Dr. Wayland was called to his post not merely by the suffrages of his own denomination. He was the choice of a wider constituency also; leading Congregationalists, like Professor Stuart of Andover, earnestly urged his appointment. Prominent newspapers in the States of New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, all had urged his election. They had been impressed with Dr. Wayland's ability and catholicity. His successful work as a teacher during his four years at Union College, and his recent appointment to the chair of Moral Philosophy in that institution, gave further basis for their opinions of his fitness for the place.

¹ "At present (1887) we have nineteen institutions for the Colored and Indian races, fourteen seminaries and high schools for the coeducation of male and female, twenty-seven institutions for female education exclusively, and six theological seminaries for the education of the ministry, making in all [colleges included], weak and strong, old and new, an aggregate of one hundred and twenty-five institutions [of learning]." — Armitage's *History of the Baptists*.

His residence at Andover, so favorably introducing him to the Congregationalists of Eastern Massachusetts, an important constituency of the college, was also a preparation for the successful incumbency of the position.

It was a critical period in the history of the institution. It had declined in numbers. The requirements for admission had become very lax. There were internal dissensions in the Faculty. The discipline of the students was of the looser sort. Old and evil customs needed uprooting. "A barrel of ale was always kept on tap in the cellar, to which all under-graduates had free access." In fact, the reputation of Brown University in its own community seems to have been at a low ebb. It was evident that reform was needed; reform and also expansion and elevation of the course of studies. His first endeavor was for reform in discipline. To secure this he framed a new set of college laws. He insisted upon a more systematic and careful supervision of the students' rooms by professors and tutors, who were required to occupy apartments in the college buildings. He banished from the premises all spirituous liquors. He obtained "power to send away from college any young man whose conduct rendered him an improper associate for his fellow-students, or whose further connection with his class could be of no use to

himself or his friends. It was understood at once that a firm, strong hand was on the helm. He wasted no time in compromising expedients. He meant to have it distinctly understood that college laws must be obeyed; it was made entirely clear to the under-graduate mind within a few months after his accession to the presidency. The necessary reforms were not carried into effect without opposition from without and within. This took Dr. Wayland by no surprise. His administration was assailed in the newspapers. He read them and maintained a wise and absolute silence. Fortunately for him the senior class responded at once and heartily to these efforts to advance the college, morally and intellectually.¹ The leading members of the college corporation agreed with his views and stood by him in his efforts to carry them out. And while at first the process of growth was not brilliant, the first class entering under the new administration being much smaller than usual, not more than one half the number of the previous year, still the friends of the administration were perfectly confident of ultimate success. Meantime, Dr. Wayland had begun his labors as a professor. He lectured to the junior and senior classes on the elements of Political Economy,

¹ Letter of Hon. John H. Clifford. *Life of Francis Wayland*, vol. i. p. 221.

Rhetoric, Intellectual Philosophy and Animal Physiology.

The question of his success in administering his office was not long an open one. In two years that success was demonstrated. At the annual meeting of the college Corporation, September 30, 1829, he presented a report in behalf of the Faculty, surveying the history of the administration during the two preceding years, and the working of all changes introduced, proposing, also, further changes in the abolition of long winter vacations. In the report submitted to the Corporation the year following, 1830, the course of the administration was again reviewed, and the progress in moral order and mental discipline carefully noted. In little less than three years it was evident that a quiet but determined revolution had been wrought. In that time Dr. Wayland had imbued his colleagues in the Faculty, his associates in the Corporation, the body of the students, and to a great extent the public, with the true spirit of a collegiate system, and what is more, with definite and fruitful purposes of expansion for the university. From that time onward for a course of years the college grew in numbers, in resources, and in influence.

Dr. Wayland saw at a glance that no college could do its proper work with such a library as Brown University then possessed. What books

it contained seem to have been kept in "one of the projecting rooms of University Hall," and the "management of the library," meagre as it was, had little or no system. In the report of 1829 to the Corporation, he drew attention to the deficiency, and asked for an annual appropriation for the purchase of books. This was followed three years later, in the summer of 1832, by a meeting of the friends of the college to secure a permanent fund for the endowment of the library. The efforts to secure this were successful, and a sum collected was put at interest until it had increased to twenty-five thousand dollars. Brown University had, however, no building where a library could be properly housed. The munificence of Hon. Nicholas Brown furnished the means for erecting Manning Hall, to be used as a library and chapel. There the new library was placed, where it remained till its growth demanded the new building erected for it in recent years. The library of Brown University has no superior for its size. It owes much to the labors of Professor Charles C. Jewett; but it must stand as a lasting monument of Dr. Wayland's foresight and activity. His belief in libraries as a leading agency in education was evinced throughout his career.

He saw also that scientific studies as a part of the college curriculum must be given a more

prominent place, and facilities for their prosecution be provided. His interest in them had been kindled in part at least by his own attempts at scientific teaching in Union College. He also believed strongly in their disciplinary value. Through his influence, and mainly through the generosity of Nicholas Brown, Rhode Island Hall was erected for the department of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, and Natural History. No college now would think of crowding so many departments of science into any one building. But scientific study was then in its infancy among American colleges. The provision made for scientific training in the erection of Rhode Island Hall, will, if compared with the provision made for it at that date in other institutions, show that its importance was fully and even liberally recognized by President Wayland.

Allusion has been made to his reform of the college discipline. All his earlier administration was characterized by it. He first of all acknowledged the obligation laid on him by the charter of the college for maintenance of sound and thorough disciplinary measures, "and above all," so the charter enjoined, "a constant regard [must] be paid to, and effectual care taken of, the morals of the college." The *Reminiscences* furnish his own account of his principles and

methods in this department of college administration. The vital importance of the subject, the tendency to lower views than his, now somewhat prevalent, justify an extended presentation of his views on the subject.

"It was . . . my aim to have no laws which could not be shown to be perfectly reasonable, and then to execute those laws with all possible strictness and impartiality.¹

"Of course in saying this I assume that it will be understood that the government of impulsive, thoughtless young men is different from the government of adults. It must of necessity be kind, conciliatory, persuasive, or, in a word, parental. Penalty must be visited only after other means of restraint and correction have been tried in vain. But it must be distinctly understood that when these have proved ineffectual, punishment

¹ Dr. Guild, in his volume *Manning and Brown University*, states that the laws in operation for all the earlier history of the college were those of the College of New Jersey "somewhat modified." These laws imposed on the student fines of fourpence for non-attendance on divine service, the same for being out of his room on Sunday evenings, five shillings for gambling, and also for bringing into his room wine, metheglin, or any sort of spirituous liquor without a permit from the president or tutors. The last of these laws, number twenty-four, prescribes that "no member of the college shall wear his hat in the college at any time, or appear in the dining-room at meal time, or in the hall at any public exercise, or knowingly in the presence of the superiority of the college, without an upper garment and having shoes and stockings tight.

will come, and come on all alike, without the shadow of partiality." After alluding to the importance of precedent and deliberation in each case, he continues : —

" I know that all this seems easy to be understood and easy to be accomplished ; and yet it is not exactly so. What needs to be done may be readily perceived. But when the doing of it may destroy the prospects of a young man, and scatter to the winds the long-cherished hopes of parents, that measure of discipline which one knows to be right and unavoidable is attended with the severest pain. I never attempted an important case of discipline without great mental distress. I took every means possible to escape it, and to maintain the government without harming the young men.¹ When, however, all other means had been tried and action became necessary, I nerved myself to the task. From that moment all the distress was over, and I went through it so coolly that I believe I acquired the reputation of being a stern, unfeeling disciplinarian, who was determined to carry out college regulations regardless of the pain he caused. In this respect I suppose I must be classed among

¹ " He would often remind us [the Faculty] that if it should become necessary to send the young man home to his parents, he must be able to say that the college had done its best to save him." — Professor Gammell, in *Life of Wayland*, vol. i. p. 293.

those unfortunate men who think themselves misunderstood."

On another point Dr. Wayland's views were no less pronounced. He held that the student, no less than any other man, is amenable to the laws of the land; that when these are broken by him, he must be held accountable to the civil authorities; that college officers should not shield him "from the consequences of the violation of municipal regulations." He held, in fact, that it was part of the business of education to train students for the duties of citizenship, and that the student character and position were never to be viewed as exempt from all due legal responsibilities. These views of college discipline are perhaps now regarded as old-fashioned and to be supplanted by modern ideas of enlarged freedom. They are unquestionably opposed to all theories of self-government. But it would be a grossly mistaken view of Dr. Wayland's discipline, if it were supposed to be nothing but a rigid system of penalties. He resorted to all the forces of moral appeal. He brought higher motives than simply the terrors of suspension or expulsion from college to bear on every refractory student. He held firmly to the position that moral and mental training must go together in order to any culture which can stand the tests of actual life. He made so much

of discipline because the lesson of obedience to constituted authority is not secondary, but primary, in the career of every student. He brought to the administration of discipline as much thought and conscientious fidelity as that bestowed on class-room work. It had been lodged mainly in his hands. This did not mean that he took no counsel from his Faculty. He was accustomed to seek this, and he had prudent advisers in that body. As a result of his wise and efficient efforts he was able to report in two years, that the "behavior of the young gentlemen of the college has been, during the past year, in the highest degree commendable. Very few instances requiring the exercise of discipline have occurred." So long as he remained in the presidency, these views were maintained. No remark was oftener quoted by him than that of Dr. Thomas Arnold: "It is *not* necessary that this should be a school of three hundred or one hundred or of fifty boys; but it is necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen."

So far, indeed, from deposing moral appeals from their true place, he in very conspicuous and impressive method exalted them. No student of Brown University during his presidency but will readily recall those platform addresses on occasion of any serious breach of college order. They formed a notable characteristic of

Dr. Wayland. Most graphically have they been portrayed by Professor George I. Chase in his Memorial Address. Every graduate of Brown University who ever heard one of them will bear witness to the fidelity and impressiveness of the picture.

“They were most frequent and most characteristic in the earlier days of his presidency. They occurred, usually, immediately after evening prayers, and took the place of the undergraduate speaking, which at that time formed part of the daily college programme. The incidents which called them forth were some irregularities, or accident or event, which seemed to render proper the application of the moral lever to raise the standard of scholarship or character. We all knew very well when to expect them.

“As the students then, with few exceptions, lived within the college buildings, and took their meals in Commons Hall, they constituted, much more than at present, a community by themselves. When gathered in the chapel, they formed a unique but remarkably homogeneous audience. President Wayland was at that time in the very culmination of his powers, both physical and intellectual. His massive and stalwart form, not yet filled and rounded out by the accretions of later years, his strongly-marked features having still the sharp outlines and severe grace of their

first chiseling, his piercing eye sending from beneath that Olympian brow its lordly or its penetrating glances, he seemed, as he stood on that stage in the old chapel, the incarnation of majesty and power. He was raised a few feet above his audience, and so near to them that those most remote could see the play of every feature. He commenced speaking. It was not instruction ; it was not argument ; it was not exhortation. It was a mixture of wit and humor, of ridicule, sarcasm, pathos, and fun ; of passionate remonstrance, earnest appeal and solemn warning, poured forth not at random, but with a knowledge of the law of emotion, to which Lord Kames himself could have added nothing. The effect was indescribable."

Of his relations to the student in the classroom, mention will be made elsewhere. But his relations to his colleagues in the Faculty were as close and kindly as it is possible for such to be. The success of any administration turns largely upon this. Nothing better tests the native qualities of leadership than such a post. The art cannot be acquired. It is born in the man. And it was easily seen that Dr. Wayland was a born leader. His strong and clear judgment inspired the confidence of his subordinates, whom, indeed, he treated as his associates. His contagious earnestness, his labo-

rious fidelity as a college officer, brought up all his colleagues to his own standard. He had able coadjutors. They caught his spirit and wrought under him with a will.

One of the first reforms he introduced was in the Faculty itself. On assuming charge of the institution he found that "several gentlemen had performed some service [in teaching] at the same time that they lived at home and were engaged in other vocations, while they received nearly as large compensation as those whose whole time was devoted to instruction." He changed all this. He insisted that "every member of the Faculty shall devote his whole time to instruction." It was a necessary demand if the college was to be lifted into any position of influence. He surrounded himself with a small band of teachers, — some of them young men, — fully imbued with his own spirit and eagerly seconding his efforts. Such names as those of Professors Goddard, Caswell, Chase, and Gammell, among the departed, and of Professor Lincoln, still among the living, are names of men without whose aid Dr. Wayland's career could not have been possible. It may be said that in a college, as in an army, while most depends on the commander-in-chief, much depends on his ability to inspire subordinates in command with his own aims. If there be dissensions be-

tween the President and his Faculty, sooner or later the bad results appear. If there be too wide a gap between the head of instruction and those who follow, if less apparent, the results are still unhappy. It may be said with perfect truth that the relations between Dr. Wayland and his Faculty were a model of such connections. The professors were put on a footing of personal friendship. They were confided in so far as they proved themselves worthy of confidence. He was fond of recalling the dialogue between George the Third and the elder Pitt: "Sire, give me your confidence, and I will deserve it." "Mr. Pitt, deserve my confidence, and you shall have it." Quoting this in a letter, he adds, "The king had the best of it." He cherished close social relations with his Faculty. His house was always open to them. They were welcome guests at his hospitable table. He sought their society. What his society did for them is well set forth in the following testimony from the late Professor Gammell.

"He was exceedingly fond of walking in the country, always seeking companionship on such occasions. The evening prayers of the college, until they were abolished in 1850, were invariably at five o'clock. On the dismissal of the students, he would very commonly summon some few to join him in his walk to the Seekonk River. . . .

This had always been the favorite walk of academics, both young and old, and the banks of the Seekonk are associated with the college memories of every generation of students. . . .

“In these walks, which were continued through many years, he would often do all the talking himself, especially when accompanied only by his juniors, sometimes on a question suggested by his companions, sometimes opening the results of his own recent reading, or perhaps recalling, in connection with the public incidents of the town, anecdotes, stories, and reminiscences of well-known characters, with which his mind was largely stored.”

It was largely through this close, personal association that he succeeded in imbuing his colleagues with his own fine enthusiasm for teaching. In later years there was less of this personal intercourse. But his earlier administration was marked by this cultivation of generous friendship with the professor in his Faculty.

In addition to all these labors of administration and teaching with which the earlier years of his presidency were crowded, there were others not less engrossing. He at once began the preparation of those text-books on moral science and political economy, which gave him so wide a reputation. Besides this, Dr. Wayland became a public man almost from the be-

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ginning of his presidency. If any important public movement were to be undertaken in the city of Providence, or in the State of Rhode Island, he was chosen to promote it by an address. His reputation as a preacher caused him to be sought outside these limits, in neighboring cities, to preach ordination sermons, to give anniversary discourses, to lead new efforts in education, in reform, in humane enterprise. These calls, which he generally responded to, added greatly to his labors. But he recognized in them one form of usefulness, and it was not in him to live apart from such movements, whatever may have been his habit as a recluse in ordinary social life.

In 1827, he laid before the General Assembly of Rhode Island a plan for organizing a system of free schools throughout the State, which in the year following was adopted by the legislature. He was made chairman of a committee of citizens of Providence in 1828, "to which was referred the consideration of the first school system of the town of Providence. The report of this committee, prepared by Dr. Wayland, was printed in the "*American Journal of Education*" for July, 1828. This report took a wide range of discussion, embracing such topics as the kind of schools demanded when supported from taxes, the subject of graded schools, the proper methods

of common school instruction, the text-books which should be used, and the need of competent supervision. The plan of the report also was carried into effect in the city schools. On August 19, 1830, when the committee of teachers and other friends of education assembled to form the American Institute of Instruction, he was chosen its first president, delivering on the occasion an address, subsequently published in the Volume of Discourses. He gave also an address at the opening of the Providence Athenæum, in which he enthusiastically commends such public libraries as the true means for popular education, and as meeting the crisis in the progress of civilization which demands a popular enlightenment. Such an institution as the Boston Public Library was then unknown. Its humble predecessors existed here and there. He took the highest ground on the subject in saying, "It becomes us, then, as philanthropists and as citizens, to furnish for the whole community the means of cultivating in the most perfect manner all of the talent with which the Creator has enriched it." And when in 1838, the Hon. J. Forsyth, Secretary of State, addressed letters to gentlemen who had been conspicuous in educational positions, asking their views as to the mode of applying the proceeds of the [Smithsonian] bequest, which would be most likely to meet the wishes

of the testator and prove advantageous to mankind, Dr. Wayland drew up with some care a plan for the formation of a National University. Literary honors also came to him. He gave the Phi Beta Kappa Oration at Brown University, on September 7, 1831, choosing for his subject "The Philosophy of Analogy," published in the Volume of Discourses, 1833. In September, 1836, he gave the Phi Beta Kappa Oration at Harvard College, selecting for his subject "The Practical Uses for the Principles of Faith." It was not, however, on literary occasions that he appeared to best advantage. The subjects which drew out his best powers, and in their best working, were those directly concerned with human interest in philanthropy, in social science or in religion.

The years 1827-1840 were thus years of continuous and varied, often anxious, labor. "I am," he wrote to his sister, "a perfect dray-horse. I am in harness from morning to night, and from one year to another. I am never turned out for recreation." But they were also years of sorrow. In the spring of 1834, his wife died, after a short but distressing sickness. He suffered, as those natures of deep reserve are apt to suffer, for the most part in silence. His letters contain few outcries of the wounded spirit, but when they come,—they come from the

depths. Few realized what keenness of anguish that spirit, by some regarded as austere and cold, was suffering. He found two sources of consolation: the one in his religious faith, the other in new devotion to his daily toil. The Christian life, in him so dominant an element, is of peculiar simplicity and tenderness during this influx of sorrow. His piety was of the old-fashioned cast. It had about it the flavor of godly sincerity. No man had less of anything approaching cant. Yet no disciple of the Master ever knew deeper religious emotion at times than he. As one reads these letters, written under the shadow of this grief, it is evidently a piety of the school of Bunyan and Baxter and Howe which is pouring out its heart before God.

The death of his mother, December 5, 1836, was a second blow following hard upon his earlier bereavement. The relations between the son and the mother had always been of peculiar closeness and sympathy. He had been her companion in childhood. She had influenced his mental development as well as his Christian life. He had nourished a chivalrous devotion to her as well as a profound respect for her attainments, and above all for her piety. To her he had turned in the hour of his great sorrow. He poured out his heart to her in his letters with the freedom and trust of childhood. These be-

reavements left ineffaceable impressions on his soul. They were recognized all along his later life in the peculiar vividness which the unseen world had for him. In his prayers, in some of his addresses to the students in their religious meetings, long after these sainted ones had gone into the world of light, it was noticeable that to him its blessedness, its companionships, its service, were things near and not remote. He believed in the "communion of saints," and his belief was intensified by the memory of the departed. To no article of the earliest creed of the church, did his soul respond more heartily than to that.

A second marriage, in the summer of 1838, to Mrs. H. S. Sage, brought companionship in his home and a lifelong happiness to himself and to his children. Everything now in his career was prosperous. He had achieved a great position as an educator. His presidency of the college had ranked him high among the distinguished group of men who had filled that position in our New England colleges, — a group of christian scholars, it may be remarked, than whom, no more honored class had been produced on our soil. Every new venture in publication added to his reputation. He had earned a rest from his incessant toil. In 1840, the Corporation of the university voted him leave of absence for the

purpose of travel in the Old World. His colleague and life-long friend, Dr. Caswell, was asked to discharge the duties of the presidency in his absence. Dr. Wayland, in visiting the Old World, was more influenced by a desire to know something of its renowned seats of learning and of general education abroad, than by any desire for recreation, or by the ordinary fancy of travelers for sight-seeing. In fact, he had not enough of either of these elements in his composition to make him a good traveler, or to gain from life abroad the benefits it may confer on a wearied scholar. His voyage thither, in October, was made in a sailing vessel, partly with the hope of gaining in health by the longer passage, partly because steam navigation was then not beyond the stage of experiment. The voyage of twenty-three days proved rough and uncomfortable. It induced a physical depression, which clung to him during the entire visit. He landed in Liverpool, remained in England about a month, then crossed the channel to Paris. After a few weeks' stay here, he gave up all thought of seeing Switzerland, Italy, or Germany, returned to England, and passed the time there till his return to America in the following April. It cannot be said that his diary furnishes much of striking interest in the way of observation or comment. The tone of mental

depression runs through it; the absence of any penetrating view of things is marked; his limitations appear rather than his peculiar gifts. He was welcomed of course with great heartiness by dissenters and also by churchmen. His fame as an educator and preacher had preceded him. He could not fail to notice the tone of dissenting clergymen toward American Christians. Speaking of the Rev. John Angell James and a visit from him, his diary proceeds: "All the talk about abolition, etc.! It is amusing to perceive how this question seems to absorb every other among the dissenters, and to what extent they carry out their notions. A man who does not adopt their opinions is, it would seem, excommunicated from church and society." The subject was evidently thrust upon him in ungracious forms, and sometimes in very offensive ones, as the following incident will show. "Dr. Wayland, in the course of his visits to the English institutions of learning, called to see the Baptist Academy in —, where many eminent Baptist ministers had been educated. The principal, who was also the preacher at — chapel, after giving Dr. Wayland all facilities for examining the institution, said, 'Sir, I am sorry that I cannot invite you to occupy my pulpit next Sabbath. Personally, I have no objection; but some doctrines in your treatise on the "Limitations of

Human Responsibility " have rendered you unpopular in England, and were I to do it, I should incur reprehension.' Dr. Wayland replied in one sentence: 'Sir, when I ask for your pulpit, it will be time enough for you to refuse it.' " ¹

His month in Paris left little impression on him. He saw the great military pageant which bore the remains of Napoleon I. to their resting place, in the Hôtel des Invalides. He visited the galleries of the Louvre. But art, save in the form of Gothic architecture, did not strongly attract him. He could not rouse in himself any interest in the sights of Paris nor in its people. It is evident that he retraced his steps to England with undisguised satisfaction. Thenceforward, till his departure for home, he seems to have had constant intercourse with Englishmen high in church or state, with men of science, with noted literary characters; in Scotland with her great divines, and his diary is much more full of interest. When he visits the English courts of justice he rises into enthusiasm. He had an early fondness for the lives of the great English jurists. He quoted frequently from them to his college classes. As he went from court to court, his admiration grew. "It was a more impressive sight, I must say," he wrote in his diary, "than the scarlet robe of the peer, the ermine of the bishops, the crown of state, the robe of her ma-

¹ *Life of Wayland*, vol. ii. p. 13.

jesty, or all the pomp and circumstance which I witnessed an hour or two afterwards." His visits to Cambridge and Oxford were evidently disappointing to him in many respects. The fact is, he was thrown all the while into a mood of mental antagonism by the presence of so much form, and by the exercise of what seemed to him slavish deference to the aristocracy. "I know not how it is," he writes in his diary, "but all I see renders me more doggedly a democrat and a Puritan." He is profoundly moved by the architecture of such a cathedral as that of Lincoln; but Westminster Abbey, as the mausoleum of so much English greatness, fails to impress him deeply. He speaks with great delight of his visit to John Joseph Gurney, whose views on the Sabbath he had incorporated into his moral science. He seems to have had free access to the men of science, attending meetings of the Geological Society, of the Political Economy Club, of the Royal Society, and of the Philosophical Society. What he notes in these associations is the fellowship of science there cultivated and the love of truth they foster. His visit to Oxford drew from him the following comment: "Of Oxford, what shall I say? ¹ Its buildings

¹ "I heard from Mr. Wayland the other day, who gave me an extract from a letter from Dr. Wayland [his American cousin, President of Brown University, who had been lionized

are magnificent, the surroundings beautiful beyond description. Its foundations are princely. . . . But when one reflects on the immense wealth of its establishment, and remembers that this was designed to promote the prosecution of science and the advancement of learning, and not for the cultivation of luxurious ease ; when one remembers that it was for the education of the people of England, and not a part of them, and that it is now used for the good of a part, and is the avenue to all social and professional standing, I cannot think of it with unmixed respect. It seems to me a monstrous perversion. I do not speak of the present incumbents, I know not how far they are responsible, but of the system. Of this I can hardly speak in terms of too great disapprobation. It is in the main the same at Cambridge, though in detail it is more restrictive, and is more inclined to theology." Dr. Wayland was drawn to Edinburgh by his desire to meet Dr. Chalmers. During

in Oxford by J. B. M], describing us a most agreeable, intelligent, gentlemanly set of men ; but regretting that the advantages of the place were so confined to the aristocracy. He is of course perfectly mistaken here, and judges from what he sees in a first view. He meets with gentlemen and persons of superior manners, and forgets that it is the place which in many instances has made them such. For my own part, I think Oxford is the most leveling, democratical place in the kingdom." — *Mozley's Letters*, p. 117.

his life as tutor, at Union College, he had fallen in with the sermons of the great Scotch divine, and wrote to his friend Wisner, "I have been lately reading Chalmers. The mind of that man moves like a torrent. Vast, irresistible, overwhelming, it sweeps before it the feeble barriers of infidelity, so that like the baseless fabric of a vision, not a rack is left behind." These early impressions were confirmed by his visit. He heard Chalmers lecture, and "was strongly impressed with the opinion that the pulpit was his proper place, and that he erred in leaving it. A visit to Dr. Abercrombie, one to Sir William Hamilton, and to a meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, made up for him the chief points of interest in his visit to Scotland. He failed, it would seem, to meet Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, whom he so greatly admired; and though he visited John Foster at his home, it is almost provoking to find in the diary no notice of his conversation beyond the fact that "he talks with all the vivacity of youth." In fact, the diary is singularly wanting in reminiscences of his conversations with the men he met. It is refreshing to meet in one of his entries the following: "Mr. R. quoted a remark of Jeffrey: 'He did not object to blue stockings provided the petticoats covered them.'"

CHAPTER IV.

PRESIDENCY OF BROWN UNIVERSITY.

1841-1855.

AFTER his return from foreign travel, Dr. Wayland devoted himself for some years to the administration of the college on the old lines of organization. He had wrought some beneficent changes. The course of instruction had been enlarged and its standard elevated. Under his care, Brown University had gained high and deserved rank among the American colleges.] Its graduates bore ample and hearty testimony to the breadth and thoroughness of their training. [As a practical educator, he occupied, perhaps, the foremost place in New England.] His expectations of growth for the college had, however, not been met. A steady decline in the number of students arrested his attention and stimulated inquiry into its causes. This fact, together with the desire for uninterrupted time in which to revise his works already published, and to prepare others for the press, led him to resign his office as President at the Commence-

ment of 1849. He had meditated this step for several years, and had corresponded with his friend Dr. Nott in regard to it. It took the whole community by surprise. The protest against it from the academic body, from the community generally, was instant and earnest. The wish of the Corporation that he should withdraw his resignation was so far acceded to, that he consented to remain in office during the current year. The result of the step he had taken in resigning was a reorganization of the college.

In 1842 — less than two years after his return from Europe — he published his “Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States.” This little volume contains the germs of all subsequent changes introduced by him. It is of importance as showing how fully matured were his plans in the new departure, or system, which in 1850 was instituted at Brown University. This volume has a far wider significance as indicating that Dr. Wayland was a pioneer in all the modern changes which have so deeply affected our collegiate systems. He was a “reformer before the reformation.” Other men have entered into his labors. Not all his views have been accepted. But he was the man who, in the year 1842, when the collegiate system as it stood was passively accepted, raised inquiries as to its completeness, suggested important

changes, and laid bare some of its glaring defects. It thus forms a very prominent chapter in the history of higher education in the country.

In the opening discussion, after alluding to the interest felt in liberal education by American citizens, the generous provisions made in the foundations of colleges and seminaries, the inducement offered to students by the eleemosynary methods adopted, and the disproportionate response in the number of students to all this effort for the promotion of liberal education, he sums up his conclusions.

“First, that there is in this country a very general willingness, both in the public and on the part of individuals, to furnish all the necessary means for the improvement of collegiate education.

“Second, that the present system of collegiate education does not meet the wants of the public. The evidence of this is seen in the fact that change after change has been suggested in the system, without, however, any decided result, and still more from the fact that although this kind of education is afforded at a lower price than any other, we cannot support our present institutions without giving a large portion of education away.

“Third, that this state of things is neither owing to the poverty of our people, nor to their

indifference to the subject of education. . . . A liberal education is certainly a valuable consideration. Can it not be made to recommend itself, so that he who wishes to obtain it shall also be willing to pay for it? Cannot this general impression in favor of education be turned to some practical account, so that the system may be able to take care of itself? Or at any rate, if after all that has been done we remain without having effected any material change, may it not be well to examine the whole system and see whether its parts may not admit of some better adjustment and work out a more perfect result?"¹

Dr. Wayland then passes in review the visitatorial power residing in the governing bodies of our colleges, and announces the following principles as those which should determine their selection.

1. The members should be appointed *solely* with reference to their fitness for the office.

2. They should be, from station and character, beyond the reach of personal or collateral motives.

3. They should be few in number.

4. They should not hold office by life-tenure, but for a certain specific time of service.

¹ *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States*, pp. 16, 17.

5. They should not form a close corporation, but should be chosen by some foreign body.

In regard to the Faculty, he announces views even more at variance with received notions.

1. The appointment of professors should be secured by competition.

2. Both as to tenure and emoluments, the office of professor should be made to depend upon the labor and the success of the incumbent.

3. He urges consideration of some efficient and just methods of removing incompetent or unfaithful professors.

All this was, however, preliminary to the main point of his discussion. That was the needed changes in the course of instruction. Here he assumes positions which show how he anticipated many of our recent advances in the higher education. First of all he urged enlarged requirements for admission. The scope of such enlargement was to extend to more Latin, Greek, mathematics, history, ancient and modern, English and modern languages. It would result, among other things, he said, in securing "students of a more uniform and more advanced age. It would also react favorably on the type of instruction given in such institutions. Such an advance could be met in different ways. In one method, the number of studies pursued during the college course might be limited in such

manner that whatever is taught may be taught thoroughly."

Two things always excited abhorrence in Dr. Wayland. One was intolerance in religion, the other was superficiality in education. Accordingly he proposed a second method to extend the term of college residence, making it five or six, instead of four years. This was a favorite idea with him, really involving what has been brought about in the so-called graduate courses now pursued in all our more important institutions.

A third plan would be to develop the college into a university. He would enlarge the system of degrees, from the venerable B. A. and M. A. degrees to one including that of Bachelor of Science or Literature. "And still more, in order to bring the whole course of study within the scope of university stimulants," instead of being conferred in course, the degree of M. A. "might be conferred only on those who have pursued successfully the whole circle of study marked out for the candidates for both degrees." These thoughts on college education were given to the public in 1842. That they may have been largely the fruit of his intercourse with English educators is rendered very probable by the repeated allusions, in the Report, to the English universities and the illustrations borrowed from their history and methods. That other minds

may have been cherishing and advancing these or similar reforms in the higher education is also true.¹ But no one had given them so clear and forcible a statement. They make good his title to the fame of being the first prominent educator in America to urge reform in college methods. They are certainly the germinal thoughts which ripened into the changes introduced by him into Brown University eight years later.

For the next seven years after the publication of these views, he was occupied in the administration of his office and in studies preparatory to a text-book in intellectual philosophy. The experience of these years, his wider observation of tendencies in the public mind regarding collegiate education, confirmed him in the views he had set forth in the "Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System." The decline in the number of students at Brown University, which had excited his apprehension in 1842, steadily continued. There were enrolled on the catalogue of 1835-36, 195; on that of 1848-49 only 150. Catalogues of the intervening years show this decrease to have been gradual. It is evident that Dr. Wayland thought the decline in the patronage of the college was due to radically defective methods in the collegiate system of the

¹ President Eliot's *Report*, 1883-1884.

country. The deficiencies were not peculiar to Brown University. It shared them with the other colleges. According to its means, it had kept abreast of progress in collegiate education. He was thus compelled to decide whether he would continue to identify himself with what he considered wrong methods in collegiate training, or whether, by resignation of his office, he would seek relief from all responsibility in the matter, and devote the remainder of his life to his books. The prompt refusal of the Corporation to accept his resignation, and the earnest remonstrances of every friend of the college, gave him the opportunity of making a practical test of his views. It enabled him also to test the question as to whether the public would respond to these views. The book he had written, "Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System," had not attracted the attention it deserved. Educational bodies are proverbially conservative. New methods in education, like new opinions in religion, are regarded with distrust.

The way was then open for him to convey fully to the governing body of the college his matured views on the subject of college education. He would not remain as president of a declining institution, specially when he felt that the system needed changes, without which no great advances could be secured. Accordingly,

on March 28, 1850, he made a "Report to the Corporation of Brown University." It is a pamphlet of seventy-six pages, and discusses in their order the following subjects: the System of University Education in Great Britain, the progress and present state of University Education in this country, the present condition of this University, the measures which the Committee [of this Corporation] recommend for the purpose of enlarging the usefulness of the Institution, and the subject of Collegiate Degrees.

The fundamental principle governing the whole report was that our colleges were not properly answering public demand in the matter of higher education. Reserving its specific recommendations for future consideration, there are some general discussions which are characteristic of Dr. Wayland, and which invest his report with interest. As a document on education, it must always have a marked place in any history of the development of our collegiate institutions. He pays a high tribute to the work accomplished by our American colleges in the earlier periods of their establishment. "We think it may be safely affirmed that they were eminently successful. We do not know of any British colony, at the present day, which has anything to compare with them. At these colleges were educated some of the profoundest theologians

that any age has produced. They nurtured the men who, as jurists and statesmen and diplomats in the intellectual struggle that preceded the Revolution, shrunk not from doing battle with the ablest men of the mother country, and won for themselves in the contest the splendid eulogy of Lord Chatham, the noblest of them all; the same men who, when the Revolution was accomplished, framed for us, their successors, the Constitution of the United States, perhaps the most important document that the eighteenth century produced. We certainly, then, have no reason to be ashamed of the colleges founded in our early history." He notes still further "that these colleges were almost wholly without endowment. They were nearly self-supporting institutions. The course of study was limited, and time was allowed for deliberate investigation of each science. The mind of the student was supposed to invigorate itself by reflection and reading, and hence, with far less means than we now possess, it seems to have attained a more manly development."¹

He next calls attention to the important advances made by modern science, and their bearing on the needs of a new country. These demands were so imperative that the colleges had been compelled to devise some way of meeting

¹ *Report*, p. 11.

them. Accordingly, every new branch of science had been introduced into the college curriculum, and this addition, as only the four years' course had been retained, necessarily curtailed the study of all branches formerly taught. The number of studies was thus increased, and every one was less perfectly mastered. The effect of this is argued, at considerable length,¹ as disastrous both to the pupils and to the teachers. Passing from this, the Report then notices the "fact that, within the last thirty years or more, it had been found that the colleges of New England could not support themselves. . . . The demand for the article produced in them was falling off, not from the want of wealth, or intelligence, or enterprise, in the community, but really because a smaller number of the community desired it."

At first, the author went on to show, the attempt was made by means of eleemosynary aid to attract larger numbers of students. Endowments for this purpose were solicited and obtained. "An immense sum of money has within the last twenty years been contributed among us for the purposes of collegiate education."² He then grapples with the question, "Have the efforts that have been made in the direction . . . indicated accomplished the object intended?"

¹ *Report*, pp. 14-20.

² *Ibid.* pp. 24-28.

This is subdivided into three questions, each of which is answered negatively. "Has the present mode of supporting the existing collegiate system increased the number of educated men in New England?" "Has the standard of professional ability been raised within the last thirty years?" "Have our efforts in this direction increased the number of ministers of the Gospel?"

After this general discussion, Dr. Wayland considers "the manner in which this college [Brown University] has been affected by changes which have been taking place in collegiate education in New England." The falling off in the number of students is shown by carefully prepared statistics, and this, notwithstanding the fact that during his administration "the demand for an enlargement of the studies of the collegiate course" by increased equipments had been met. Between the years 1832 and 1842 the number of under-graduates had been larger than at any period within the last twenty-two years. But from 1839 to 1849 there had been a steady decline. In the year 1842, beneficiary aid had been to a great extent withdrawn. In contrast with the fortunes of other colleges, the endowment of Brown University, which in 1827, the time of Dr. Wayland's accession to the presidency, was \$34,300, had received no increase. "The college has not for more than forty years

received a dollar, either from public or private benevolence, which could be appropriated to the support of the officers of instruction, or, with the exception of a temporary subscription, . . . a dollar which could be applied to the purpose of reducing the price of tuition." He further shows that at the present scale of expenditures, and the present rate of income, the funds must soon be exhausted, and the institution become bankrupt.¹

The remainder of the Report discusses plans for meeting the crisis in the history of the college. First, by increase of endowments on the old lines of organization, namely, "the four years' course, considering the college as a mere preparatory school for the profession of Law, Medicine, and Divinity," thus making tuition cheaper, and offering it at a nominal price. This plan he dismisses after a brief consideration, for reasons assigned in the earlier part of his discussion. The other plan, that unfolded and advocated,² was to "adapt the course of instruction to the wants of the whole community." It is best expressed in his own words.

"If it be the fact that our colleges cannot sustain themselves, but are obliged to make repeated calls upon the benevolence of the community, not because the community is poor, and educa-

¹ *Report*, pp. 47, 48.

² *Ibid.* pp. 50-76.

tion inordinately expensive, but because, instead of attempting to furnish scientific and literary instruction to every class of our people, they have furnished it only to a single class, and that by far the least numerous; if they are furnishing an education for which there is no remuneration, but, even at the present low prices, a decreasing demand; if they are not by intention, but practically, excluding the vastly larger portion of the community from advantages in which they would willingly participate, and are thus accomplishing but a fraction of the good which is manifestly within their power, then it would seem that relief must be expected from a radical change of the system of collegiate instruction. We must carefully survey the wants of the various classes of the community in our own vicinity, and adapt our courses of instruction, not for the benefit of one class, but for the benefit of all classes. The demand for general education in our country is pressing and unusual. The want of that science, which alone can lay the foundation of eminent success in the useful arts, is extensively felt. The proportion of our young men who are devoting themselves to the productive professions is great, and annually increasing. They all need such an education as our colleges, with some modifications in their present system, could very easily supply.”¹

¹ *Report*, pp. 50, 51.

The modifications he proposed, touching as they do the very core and essence of his later views on education, will be presented later in this volume, in connection with his whole work as an educator. It is enough here to say that the Report attracted wide and profound attention. The views presented were directly in conflict with the generally received ideas of collegiate education. It was not easy for many to see that his opinions on eleemosynary education were sustained either by experience or a sound theory of education, nor, indeed, that they were the necessary conditions of a wise university reform. Hence these views were earnestly controverted. The leading reviews, directly or indirectly, assailed the arguments and the conclusions of the Report. The main point of attack was its supposed hostility to the classics, its exaltation of special over general training, its undue praise of science, and its utilitarian tone.

The newspapers representing the popular opinion on the subject were friendly to his ideas, and commended the schemes he proposed for remodeling university training. In his own city, the "Providence Journal," then edited by Hon. Henry B. Anthony, himself an accomplished scholar, gave a cordial indorsement and hearty support to his projects. It is doubtful, however, whether the Corporation of the university as a

body was convinced of the soundness of his educational opinions. Nor were the members of his Faculty inclined to adopt all his views. It was understood, indeed, that if they could be adopted in the main, and provision for carrying them into effect could be secured, that Dr. Wayland would consent to remain for a season longer at the head of the university. To carry into operation the "New System," as it was called, there was demanded a large increase of the college funds. New professorships were necessary, and "extensive modifications of the college buildings." One hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars was the estimated amount needed for the successful working out of the plan. Pending its adoption by the Corporation, Dr. Wayland visited the University of Virginia, in which a somewhat similar system had been in actual working from its foundation, in order to examine its results. This visit had only one issue, to confirm him as to the wisdom and necessity of changes proposed.

The Corporation met on May 7th, and adopted the Report, on condition that the sum needed to carry its recommendations into effect should be subscribed on or before its meeting in September. The sum was raised, and the college went on under the new organization from that date.

The immediate results of its adoption were seen in an increase of students. Meantime, in

public and in private, Dr. Wayland gave himself to the promotion of his plan with his accustomed persistent energy. At Union College, in 1854, he delivered an address upon the "Education Demanded by the People of the United States." Two years later, he spoke at the dedication of the Free Academy, Norwich, Conn., and gave a lecture before the American Institute of Instruction. In all these utterances, he brought before the public the views in his "Report to the Corporation of Brown University." One of his favorite ideas was to make the higher education in some direct way serviceable to the workingmen—the skilled mechanics. In pursuance of this design, in 1852 a course of lectures was given in the college upon the principles and processes employed in calico printing, by Mr. W. W. Pearce, then Instructor in Analytical Chemistry. In 1853 Professor George I. Chace, holding the chair of "Chemistry applied to the Arts," gave a course of lectures upon the "Chemistry of the Precious Metals" to the "jewelers and other workers in those metals." Both these courses directly appealed to Rhode Island industries. At the latter course, over three hundred artisans were in attendance. Professor J. W. Draper had said in an address (1853), "I heartily join in the sentiments recently expressed by an eminent clergyman, and trust that

the time is not distant when we shall see the New York mechanic passing up the steps of the university, and depositing the tools he has been using behind the door." The wish had become a fact in Providence, on the occasions of the lectures of Professor Chace.

Nor were the severer studies neglected, as had been the fear of many wise and accomplished educators. The classics and mathematics held their own. The degrees requiring study of the classics showed no falling off, but a proportionate gain in the number of candidates. The reports of the Executive Board — a sub-committee of the Trustees and Fellows — to the Corporation for successive years, all speak in favor of the working of the "New System."

From 1850 to 1855, Dr. Wayland was engaged in the work of supervising and developing this new departure in the college administration. Probably they were the most anxious, certainly the most laborious, years of his life. Indeed, it was the judgment of his physician, that he never overcame the effect of the strain to which his mental energies were subjected. On him mainly would have rested all the blame of a conspicuous failure, had the experiment not succeeded. This he fully realized, and hence he gathered up all his resources to meet the great issue of his life. Aside from this general care

over the interests of the college in its new organization, he was never more absorbed in his work of teaching the college classes than during these busy years. His pupils were only conscious of a strenuous effort on his part to make the chair of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy more powerful in its hold upon the body of students under him. He was also occupied in the preparation of his text-book on Mental Philosophy. In 1854, this was published. It was also during this period that he wrote the memoir of Dr. Adoniram Judson.

If to these labors, be added those connected with public addresses, such as the Annual Address before the Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry, in 1851; his funeral sermon on Dr. Sharp, of Boston, in June, 1853, the manuscript of which was deposited beneath the corner-stone of the First Baptist Church in Boston; his sermon on the "Apostolic Ministry," one of his most carefully prepared discourses, delivered before the New York Baptist Union in July, 1854; the introductory lecture for the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the American Institute of Instruction; the address at Union College on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Dr. Nott's presidency of that institution, it is easy to see that his capacity for work was tested to its utmost, and that these

closing years of his presidency were among the most fruitful of his entire career. He had never learned how to take vacations. His enjoyment was in change of work. Only such rest as that may bring was known in the twenty-eight years of his presidential career. He became convinced that he "could not have discharged [his] duties for another year." His physician also enjoined on him the duty of resting from active work in the college. He decided to resign his office. Accordingly, at a special meeting of the Corporation held August 21, 1855, Dr. Wayland read his letter of resignation.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, *August 20, 1855.*

To the Corporation of Brown University:

GENTLEMEN, — After more than twenty-eight years' service, the conviction is forced upon me that relaxation and change of labor have become to me a matter of indispensable necessity. These, I am persuaded, cannot be secured while I hold the office with which you have so long honored me. I therefore believe it to be my duty to resign the offices of President of Brown University and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy. If it be agreeable to you, I desire that this resignation may take place at the close of the present collegiate year.

In sundering the ties which have so long bound

us officially together, I shall not attempt to express the sentiments of gratitude and respect which I entertain toward the gentlemen of the Corporation of Brown University. For more than a quarter of a century we have labored together in promoting the cause of good learning, and specially in advancing the interests of this institution. Those who, like myself, were young men when I entered upon office, are, with me, beginning to feel the approaches of age. Yet during this long period, no spirit of dissension has either divided our councils or enfeebled our exertions. We have beheld the university, year after year, advancing in reputation and usefulness, and diffusing more and more widely the blessings of education. Let us thank God for giving us this opportunity of conferring benefits on mankind, and for crowning our labors with so large a measure of success.

Permit me, gentlemen, to tender to each one of you the assurances of my grateful regard, and believe me to be,

With the highest respect,

Your obedient servant,

FRANCIS WAYLAND.

Regretting the necessity laid upon them, but recognizing its imperative demand, the resignation was accepted. When the college bell rang

for the opening exercises of the next collegiate year, Dr. Wayland, happening to meet one of his former pupils on the street, paused a moment to listen, and then said, "No one can conceive the unspeakable relief and freedom which I feel at this moment, to hear that bell ring, and to know, for the first time in twenty-nine years, that it calls me to no duty."

He had resigned his office in happy opportunity. He was at the height of his great fame. His name was known and honored at home and abroad. He had carried through successfully plans of reorganization for the college, which had cost him years of thought and effort. He had seen them bearing fruit in wider spheres than that occupied by Brown University. He was not only the foremost citizen in Rhode Island, he was the foremost divine in the ministry of the Baptist Church. And amid such successes, with the ever heightening esteem of his fellow-citizens and fellow-educators, his intellectual power unimpaired, his eye still bright with hope for human progress, his heart animated only by new and larger impulse for every good thing in learning or religion, he gave up his office. *Finis coronat opus*. A serious crisis in the history of the college to which he had given the best years of his life had been safely passed. Not all the schemes he then proposed have been successful.

His plans have been modified. But the essential features of his "new system," the elective principle in studies, have been adopted in every leading college or university. And the college in which he instituted the changes then entered on a new and broader career of usefulness. Brown University, though among the smaller American colleges, has maintained always a high repute for high and thorough scholarship. Her debt to President Wayland is not to be reckoned by ordinary methods.

Commencement Day, 1855, the day on which he laid down his office is memorable in the history of the college, and of the city in which it is placed. It was a day of profound feeling, shared alike by the civic and academic community. It pervaded all classes. There could not have been a more fitting tribute to the retiring president than this deep, silent feeling of regret that he was no more to be hailed as President of Brown University, mingled, as it was, with the sentiment of homage to his goodness and his greatness. When the regular Commencement exercises in the First Baptist Church were ended, and the degrees were conferred, Dr. Tobey, a citizen of Providence, a prominent member of the Society of Friends, and long a member of the Corporation, and the chancellor of the university, presented the resolutions which

had been adopted by the Board of Fellows and Trustees in accepting his resignation. As he finished reading them, he added, "President Wayland, I herewith present thee a certified copy of the resolutions, now read in thy hearing. Wilt thou be pleased also to accept from me personally the assurance of my high respect for thee as a citizen and an instructor of youth, with the desire that Heaven may smile with prosperity upon the evening of thy days." The quaint simplicity of the Friend's language on the occasion seemed entirely fitting, and more impressive than any ornate speech could have been. Dr. Wayland replied with equal simplicity:—

"Mr. Chancellor, I beg you to accept, for yourself and for the gentlemen with whom you are associated, my grateful acknowledgments for the kindness with which you have been pleased to estimate my imperfect services. If the Corporation of Brown University believe that I have faithfully endeavored to do my duty, I desire no higher earthly reward."

Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, then pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York city, who was present, a witness of the scene, wrote thus concerning it, in suggestive and impressive words:

"The whole scene, the 'unbaptized Quaker,' the representative of the extremest spiritualism,

in his prim habit, and with his precise and well-ordered phrase, contrasted with the sturdy Baptist, the representative of the intensest form of an outward ordinance, yet overflowing with spiritual emotion ; these two sects, whose forerunners were outlawed from the old Puritan Colony of Massachusetts, now meeting in that shelter which Roger Williams founded for ' persons distressed for conscience,' and fraternizing in behalf of a sound and liberal Christian Education, — this was a scene which some painter's pencil or some poet's pen should have caught upon the instant to transmit to other generations."

At the Commencement dinner which followed, Dr. Wayland gave his formal farewell address to the alumni, whose lengthening ranks he had welcomed there from year to year, in the successive classes graduated under him. He unfolded simply the guiding principles of his administration. They were, " a resolute and honest consecration to the work to be done," " a dogged instinct to do his duty," " never to act for to-morrow, or next month, instead of to-day," " adherence to general principles," and lastly reliance on the Word of God. " Whatever of knowledge I have of men or mind, I have gained from the New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." These were dilated on in his own simple but most forcible way, and they closed the

long and honorable career fitly, because they were so admirably in keeping with the whole tenor of his presidency.

Had Dr. Wayland's active labors ended with his resignation of the presidency of Brown University, it could have been justly said that he had filled up and rounded out a great career. He had won a place among the most famous of American preachers, and his sermons would have been ranked among the lasting efforts of the American pulpit, perishable as sermon literature is wont to be. He had raised Brown University to a worthy rank among the American colleges. His teachings on moral science had moulded with singular power a generation of students, and had profoundly affected the Christian thought of the country. He had proposed, nay had put into active operation, a system of university education, which eventually issued in the reconstruction of that system on its present lines. He in all this had never forgotten his position as a Baptist, and by his devotion to denominational interests had become the most influential leader in that large and growing body of Christians, his name standing in America where that of Robert Hall or John Foster stood in England.

Had he then retired from all active work for years of learned leisure with a

“fast intent

To shake all cares and business from [his] age,
Conferring them on younger strengths,”

it would have been said that no man had better earned the exemptions from toil. Few thought that there were in him yet possibilities of so great service. The lines of work were to be different, but the outcome of his last years marks one of the most impressionable periods of his life, and one of the most instructive in the annals of biography.

CHAPTER V.

LAST YEARS. 1855-1865.

DR. WAYLAND had always been fond of horticulture. The garden belonging to the president's house on College Street was the scene of his daily toils in spring and summer. He did not merely dabble in gardening, leaving to a gardener the hard work. He planted his own peas and celery, pruned his own trees, and weeded the beds himself. His memoirs ¹ give lengthened extracts from his diary in these later years, which show how large a part of his life his garden had become. There he found his chief recreation. There too in pleasant chats, his friends and at times his students, enjoyed some of his choicest hours.

When, therefore, after his removal from the president's house, and his occupancy of the dwelling he had built for himself, his first care was the preparation of its garden. In March, 1856, he removed to the new home. With his own hand he planted the trees which now shade

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 301-303.

the grounds. More than ever, horticulture occupied his time, engaged his thoughts, shaped his correspondence. Late in life it is recorded of him that "he could be on his feet in the garden, working from breakfast time till two o'clock" without weariness, when he could not take a walk of any length without complaining of fatigue.

The year following his resignation of the college presidency was mainly a year of mental rest. Yet he could not give up intellectual work wholly. He prepared for publication that series of weekly letters which had appeared over the signature of Roger Williams in the "Examiner," a Baptist weekly. The volume was entitled "Notes upon the Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches"; a volume less elaborate in structure than any of his other works, and yet noteworthy as an exposition of the principles and practices which have made the history of the Baptists so large and influential a chapter in the ecclesiastical history of the world.

The quiet tenor of his life was broken only on two occasions, in which he appeared before the public to make addresses. One of these occasions was memorable in the history of the country. Charles Sumner had been brutally assaulted in the Senate Chamber of the United States by Preston S. Brooks, a representative from South

Carolina. The indignation of New England burned hotly on reception of the news of the dastardly outrage ; as dastardly in its plan and attack as in its spirit. Many men who had been no admirers of Senator Sumner's methods, or who had given him only lukewarm support, were roused by the cruel and wicked deed into sympathy with the sufferer, and with the cause he represented. Public meetings were held throughout the Northern States to denounce the crime as flagitious in all its aspects. The best citizens of Providence, without distinction of party, met in Howard Hall on the evening of the 7th of June. Alexander Duncan presided. Dr. Caswell, of the university, offered a series of resolutions which were supported by addresses from Prof. Gammell, Hon. Charles S. Bradley, and the Rev. Dr. Hedge. The closing speech was by Dr. Wayland. As he stepped on the platform an outburst of applause indicated the instinctive reverence of that community for the late president in his retirement, and with what joy and confidence they looked to his counsel in all such crises. Every speech made on that occasion is a high example of oratorical power. The opening of Dr. Wayland's is marked by its calm discussion of principles. But there was in his soul a native hatred of all tyranny, and this, in the closing passages, occasioned an outburst in which

the feeling of the great assembly found at last full voice, as he depicted in the bludgeon of Senator Sumner's assailant the dethronement of government by law, and the enthronement of government by brute force.

"We have met this evening deliberately to ask each other whether we are prepared to inaugurate such a change in the form of our government, whether we choose to be governed by laws which express the intellectual and moral opinions of the people of this country, or by laws enacted without the opportunity even of free debate; by laws forced upon us at the point of the bowie-knife, or under the muzzle of a revolver; whether in fact we will be free and sovereign states, or the mere provinces of a section of this country, under the same constitution as slaveholders have ordained for their chattels, from whom we should differ only in complexion."

"The question before us is simply whether you, here and now, consent to this change in our form of government, and accept the position which it assigns to you, and whether you agree to transmit to your children this inheritance. For myself, I must decline the arrangement. I was born free, and I cannot be made a slave. I bow before the universal intelligence and conscience of my country, and when I think this defective, I claim the privilege of using my

poor endeavors to enlighten it. But submit my reason to the bludgeon of a bully or the pistol of an assassin, I cannot ; nor can I tamely behold a step taken which leads directly to such a consummation."

Not long after the Sumner address he attended the Commencement at Yale College. At the meeting of the alumni he was called on for a speech. Speeches at alumni dinners are generally among the most evanescent of all oratory. He was no practiced after-dinner speaker. He could be witty on occasion, never lacked an anecdote to point a remark, but he was no man to set the table in a roar. But the off-hand address he made at that meeting of Yale alumni has had a memorable history, as shaping the future career of one of the most distinguished American educators.

The organizer and the future President of Cornell University happened then to be at Yale, a graduate student. How he came to hear Dr. Wayland's speech, and what that speech did for him, is best told in President White's own words: "Lounging about the edge of the crowd at the alumni meeting at Yale in 1856, I was attracted by hearing his (Dr. Wayland's) name, as he was called on to speak. He rose, and his appearance made an impression on me, such that I doubt whether those who saw him constantly

now carry in their minds a more vivid portrait of him than I do at this moment.

“He spoke of the possible rise or decline of this nation, of the duties of educated men, and said that he believed this country was fast approaching a ‘switching-off place’ towards good or towards evil, and added that in determining which way the nation should be ‘switched off,’ the West held the balance of power, and that the West was the place for earnest men to work in, to influence the nation. That was all; but it changed my whole life. I gave up law, literature, and politics, and thenceforward my strongest desire was to work anywhere and anyhow at the West on education.”

The Rev. Dr. James N. Granger, pastor of the First Baptist Church, died January 5, 1857. Between himself and Dr. Wayland a close intimacy had existed. The family of Dr. Granger and the church united in the request that he would preach the discourse commemorative of the late pastor. No sooner had this been done than the church in its bereavement turned to Dr. Wayland for his help in their hour of need. His position before the world and in his own community, his relations to that church, made this appeal most fitting as it was most natural. What ensued makes up one of the most interesting portions of his life.

Little more than a year had elapsed since he had laid aside the cares and labors of the college presidency. He was scarcely rested from his long and arduous services in that post. He had other and very different plans formed. At first the church committee asked him simply to undertake the supply of the pulpit from Sunday to Sunday, while they should look about for a pastor to take the place of Dr. Granger. This invitation was promptly but courteously declined for the reason assigned by himself. "This I was unwilling to do, for I thought that some time would elapse before a suitable candidate could be provided, and I believed that the church needed, not merely preaching on the Sabbath, but great and faithful labor from house to house." Accordingly the joint committee of the church and of the society for the supply of the pulpit modified the invitation by enlarging its terms to what would be a virtual pastorate. Thus changed it read, "*Resolved*, that Rev. Francis Wayland, D. D., be earnestly requested to undertake the performance of ministerial and pastoral labors for the time being, and until it may be thought best to make some other arrangement; and that he be requested to devote his time and energies to these ministrations in such ways as may best be adapted to promote the highest religious interests of the church and society." The

compensation for the services was fixed at twenty-five dollars per week.

This invitation Dr. Wayland accepted, and began his labors as pastor *pro tem.* of the First Baptist Church, in the month of February, 1857. It is evident that he did not undertake this new field of labor from want of occupation. At the time the call came to him, he had on hand important and long-deferred literary projects. In fact, it seemed the natural close to his career, that he should devote himself to these projects as being on the same line of work which had occupied him during his college presidency. But there were powerful motives constraining him to relinquish for a time the literary labors in hand and take up again the work of the ministry, — which thirty years before he had laid down to be President of Brown University. In his sermon on the “Apostolic Ministry,” preached at the University of Rochester, New York, at the request of the New York Baptist Union for Ministerial Education, he had insisted with great force on certain features of pastoral and pulpit work, as essential to the true growth of Christianity. Visitation from house to house, preaching the Gospel in personal interviews, and this, supplemented by a plain, direct method of sermonizing, was the apostolic ideal, and must be restored. Dr. Wayland felt that he could enforce what he

had said so publicly, if he attempted himself to do what he had urged on others. He held mere words always cheap. He disdained anything like talking for effect. He said once to one of his sons, during a walk in the winter of 1857: "Example is the most powerful force in morals; this law God has established; and in his dealings with us He acts in accordance with it, setting us an example of the dispositions which he bids us cultivate." He would therefore add the force of example to what he had so forcibly uttered as his convictions in the sermon on the "Apostolic Ministry." In the *Reminiscences*, he has detailed the views with which he entered upon the work of the pastorate.

"The moment I assumed the duties of pastor, I relinquished every other engagement and occupation. I laid away my manuscripts, put aside all labor for myself, and devoted myself to the service of the Gospel. . . . I had published my views of the ministry, of the kind of preaching needed, of the other labors (besides preaching) devolving on the minister, and of the necessity of making every other pursuit secondary to this, if we expected the blessing of God. From consistency, as well as from conscience, I felt under obligation to follow my own directions, or rather what I supposed to be the commands of our Lord and Saviour. If I can speak of my own

motives, I do not know that I ever commenced any undertaking from a more simple desire to do the work of the Master."

The First Baptist Church of Providence is one of the historic churches of New England. Its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary was celebrated in April, 1889. Its founder, and in a sense first minister, was Roger Williams. Its early record, though somewhat marred by dissensions, is full of interest for the student of our ecclesiastical history. In 1770, after an existence of one hundred and thirty years, "it had never paid its ministers, and on principle was opposed to doing it. It discarded singing and music in public worship, after the manner of the Quakers and the early Baptists in England. It was still rigorous for the laying on of hands. It refused communion to those who did not practice it. It held those liable to discipline who should join in prayer without the bounds of the church." But after that date, it had entered on a new and enlarged career. Its pulpit had been filled by James Manning, first President of Brown University, Dr. Jonathan Maxy, Dr. Stephen Gano, Dr. Robert Patterson, Dr. William Hague, and Dr. James N. Granger.¹ The meeting-house, on its historic site, with its commanding spire, a noble specimen of that earlier

¹ *Vide* the late Dr. S. L. Caldwell's *Historical Discourse*.

and simpler church architecture which has been supplanted too often by what is more showy and less effective, was and is one of the landmarks of the old city. Socially as well as historically, the church held an influential position in the community. There had worshiped generations of old Rhode Island families who had given character to the city and the State. Its vigor had been unimpaired, and it offered to any pastor a position of great dignity and usefulness.

It was, however, nothing in the past history or present commanding position of the church that attracted Dr. Wayland to its pastorate. It was simply and absolutely the opportunity furnished for an earnest, laborious ministry, after the apostolic model. If the call had been to the humblest church in the city, it would have been accepted with equal promptness and with equal devotion.

And so, in his sixty-first year, without any thorough recuperation from the long, unbroken toils of his presidency, he entered upon the work of a pastor, which he had laid down a generation before. At once he began a round of pastoral visits. By these he did not mean merely social calls. "I resolved," he said, "that I would visit no house without introducing the subject of religion as a personal matter, and that in every case, unless it was manifestly best

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to omit it, I would pray with the family." This pastoral work he kept up for nearly a year, till every family had been visited. Beginning his rounds in the forenoon, dining, perchance, with one of the families, or taking a hasty meal at some restaurant, plodding on from house to house, following up the persons he sought into shops and counting-rooms, never riding, giving as his reason for not doing so, "I could not ride to see poor persons who never ride," he managed to secure "personal conversation on religion with by far the greater part of the adults of the parish." One of his friends testifies that "a number of times on Wednesday evening I went into the vestry before the congregation had gathered [for the weekly religious service], and at first thought no one was there. But presently I would see Dr. Wayland lying down on one of the seats; he was worn out with the incessant visiting and talking of the day, and was resting for a few minutes."

This Wednesday evening lecture brought out some of Dr. Wayland's choicest gifts. He magnified its importance and threw his soul into it. The informal, face-to-face meeting with his people elicited his deepest feelings, and stimulated some of his most effective addresses. His reading of the Scriptures, always impressive, at this service, took on its most impressive tone.

His appeals to the conscience were then most direct. His unfolding of the Christian life was then suffused with the glow of his own experience. The pastoral visiting of the day just ended often gave him the clue to his evening address, and kindled the fire which burned throughout his appeals. He mourned that he could not do in the pulpit on the Sabbath what he was so easily accomplishing in these Wednesday evening conferences. Probably he underrated the efficacy of the more studied pulpit discourses. They were needed in their place as much as were the emotional and searching off-hand talks or exhortations of the conference room. It is not too much to say that he succeeded in making the weekly service of the church all that such a service should be in maintaining the spiritual life of the people.

His sermons were prepared from week to week, and in great part were written. "Frequently," he writes to a brother minister, "I write two and always one sermon for the Sabbath. I am, however, more and more satisfied that this is a useless labor, and I hope soon to begin to preach once a day without notes. I see that I am in danger of being confined to them, and the writing consumes valuable time."

It will be remembered that it was owing to no want of sermons already prepared, that Dr.

Wayland undertook the preparation of fresh ones. He had by him in manuscript the discourses of years, preached in the college chapel and in the churches round about. But he had come to feel that the preaching needed for the place and the hour should be simpler, more direct, and more vital, with the single aim of making salvation by Christ the ruling topic, and of bringing this theme into the closest relations with the consciences and hearts of his hearers, then and there. It was said of him by a brother clergyman, and the statement is not strained, that Dr. Wayland never wrote an obscure sentence in his life. His published sermons show a careful style, and many of them are ornate with a grave but sonorous eloquence. All this he deliberately eschewed in this later preaching from Sabbath to Sabbath in the pulpit of the First Baptist Church. It was literally a "commending the truth to every man's conscience in the sight of God."

In such labors he was abundant, when the wide religious interest of 1858, following the commercial reverses of 1857, swept through the American churches. Into this movement Dr. Wayland threw himself, heart and soul. Placing, as he did, the greatest importance on the pastoral care as an element of any successful ministry, he began to revisit the people of his

charge. But in addition to this he sought wayside opportunities of personal address. Meeting young men of his acquaintance in his walks, he would address them tenderly, solemnly, briefly, and then pass on. "I was walking with him down Thomas Street," said a member of his family, "when he said to me, 'There is a man who has been avoiding me for weeks. I want to speak to him;' and he left me standing till he had done so."

It was, however, in the so-called business men's prayer-meeting, held daily, that his most effective efforts were often put forth. These meetings gathered into themselves the lawyers, judges, merchants, tradesmen, mechanics, among whom his life had been spent. He knew them and their histories. His off-hand addresses were strikingly adapted to the end in view. He laid bare all the fallacious excuses to which such men are apt to flee.

"There was one peculiarity in his preaching," is the testimony of Rev. Dr. Caswell, "in which he seemed to me to surpass all men to whom I have ever listened. It was in exposing the devices of the heart, and in hunting a guilty sinner from every subterfuge, from every refuge of lies until he stood before himself in all the deformity of sin. He had deeply studied the laws and modes of action of the human conscience, and

few, if any, of the world's great teachers have ever handled it more skillfully." "No man," said another, "ever ploughed through my conscience as Dr. Wayland did." In all this we cannot help tracing the influence of Rev. Dr. Nettleton, remarkable himself for this power, and under whose ministry years before, in a similar religious awakening, Dr. Wayland, then a tutor in Union College, had come. He had also a sense of the eternal realities which gave his speech the force of one who "testified that he had seen." All the prodigious earnestness of which his soul was capable came out in those pungent, plain-dealing, but tender addresses to his neighbors and friends.¹ "I was going out of the hall [where these meetings were held] one day, when I chanced to look around and saw an aged man, bowed down, and Dr. Wayland leaning over and speaking to him. I went back, and found that it was the venerable Judge P., overwhelmed with anxiety and sorrow. He was expressing his fear that for one so old, who had lived so many scores of years without God, there was no help. Dr. Wayland was most tenderly pointing him to the boundless mercy of God in Christ Jesus."

Into the prayer-meeting and the Sunday services of the church over which he was holding

¹ *Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 216.

pastoral care, Dr. Wayland brought an added fervor of spirit. He lifted his audience to his own high level of devotion. The solemnity was at times unutterable. Silence, which veiled thoughts and feelings too deep for tears or speech, was most expressive of what Divine power filled the place. His prayers, his reading of the Scriptures, his talks and his sermons, all revealed the fact that over his own soul the power of an endless life had come as it seldom comes to any preacher. If ever a man rose to the height of a great religious occasion, that man was Dr. Wayland in this religious movement.

But he did it at cost of strength which could never be repaired. In a letter to one of his sons he says, "I am now in my sixty-third year. Not many more birthdays await me. I have on a few occasions used my brain pretty hard, and I sometimes fear that it will never be wholly restored to its former power. But this is all as God wills. I have nothing to do with it." His physician, watchful of the effects of such burdens on his strength, of such strain upon mind and body, noticed increasing feebleness, and urged him to give up so exhausting cares. He had taken no respite save a short visit to Saratoga, interrupted after a few days by the death of his friend, Mr. Moses B. Ives. The church,

meantime, had urged him to accept the pastorate as a permanency. He considered the matter carefully, but was conscious that he could not wisely continue in this relation. After a year and three months of such toil, he laid down his temporary pastorate, and was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Caldwell in June, 1858.

His biographers have noted two incidental features of this brief ministry, which have enduring value. First, a practical organization of the church for care of the district in which it is placed. It is in fact realizing the true *parish* idea. As drawn out by Dr. Wayland, and as actually practiced by the church with gratifying results, the plan was as follows: —

“The church and congregation shall be distributed, according to their places of residence, into twelve districts.

“A committee of two brethren and two sisters shall be appointed annually to the watch care of each district.

“It is expected of such committees: —

“1. That they will make it their great object to call the unconverted to repentance; to encourage their brethren and sisters to lead a holy and consistent Christian life; to caution them against conformity to the world; to urge them to labor and self-sacrifice for the cause of Christ, and to suggest to them appropriate fields

of labor, so that every one of them may be a living member of the body of Christ.

“2. That they will be in frequent communication with the pastor and keep him informed of all matters, in the several districts, which require his special attention, particularly where there is sickness, affliction, or religious thoughtfulness and inquiry; also that they will seek out strangers in the congregation, introducing them to the pastor, and promoting their acquaintance with others.

“3. That the committee, or one of them, will visit every person committed to their charge, at least once in six months.

“4. That the several committees will meet on the evening of Tuesday after Communion in October, January, April, and July, to confer upon the state of the church, and to devise means for its increase in piety and usefulness, the pastor presiding.

“5. That they shall make report of their doings as often as the church shall direct, with such suggestions as they think proper for promoting the piety of the church and the advancement of Christ's kingdom.

“It is recommended that the members of the church in each district, if practicable, meet once a month, or from time to time, at some private house, for conference and prayer.”

The other change which he advocated was in the service of song. He had great faith and great delight in a true congregational singing as a source of spiritual quickening. He had no faith and no delight in a vicarious choir performance of sacred music. The artistic efforts of fine soprano solos were all lost upon him. He delighted in the noble hymns of Watts, was very impatient when they were divorced from the old, familiar tunes. He made a resolute effort to supersede mere choir singing by the singing of the congregation. He induced Dr. Lowell Mason to come to Providence and address the people upon the subject. He was successful in the effort. Congregational singing was introduced.

His temporary pastorate of the First Baptist Church was an episode in his great career. Episode though it be, yet no measure of the man can be taken which does not take it into deep consideration. That after thirty years of academic labor abundant in educational schemes, writing text-books, managing students, he could take up and carry on such a pastorate is a marvel. This brief ministry of Dr. Wayland in the First Baptist Church has about it something apostolic. The true succession is there. Rightly it has been said that its triumph was owing in great part to the power of the *spiritual* man, owing also to the intense and absolute concen-

tration of effort upon his work. "The moment, I assumed the duties of pastor," he says in the *Reminiscences*, "I relinquished every other engagement and occupation. I laid away my manuscripts, put aside all labor for myself, and devoted myself to the service of the Gospel." He relinquished also his customary reading even of reviews. He was a man of one book, and that the Bible, during the entire period. He was then and till his death living on a high table-land of spiritual experience. All his words were invested with power drawn from his intense spiritual life. After his death, two members of the bar were discussing his labors during this period, when one remarked, "I do not know how it is; I never felt so towards any one else, but I always had a strange sensation of awe, whenever I met him or saw him. I do not know what it was owing to." "Do you not know," replied the other, "why you felt the influence of his almost superhuman goodness?" The same testimony was given by another eminent lawyer in almost identical language. "It was the most wonderful exhibition of goodness that I ever saw or conceived of."

He had succeeded in enforcing the lesson of his sermon on the "Apostolic Ministry" by an example which taught even more powerfully than words. He however laid down one form

of labor only to take up another. When he undertook the pastorate, as has been said, he gave up every kind of literary work. He had left his plough standing in the furrow. He at once put his hand to it, and prepared for publication his "Sermons to the Churches," which appeared in August, 1858. That was followed in December by the volume originally entitled "University Sermons," but now called "Salvation by Christ." Two sermons on the "Recent Revolutions in France" were omitted, and two new ones written during his recent pastorate, were inserted in their stead.

In 1858 an invitation was given him to become president of a university just established, and which gave promise of large usefulness. His reply shows that he was fully conscious of having overtaken his powers, while such an offer to him at over threescore shows the commanding position he had gained among American educators.

The main labors of the years 1859 and 1860 were put forth in revision of his text-book on moral science. Abandoning his first plan of reconstructing it and making a new volume, he rewrote those chapters or portions which, in his view, needed different statements or enlargement.¹

¹ Notably his views on war.

On his sixty-fifth birthday he wrote to his son : —

“I am this day sixty-four years old. What remains to me, and how much, is known only to Him who will do all things aright. I should like to bear my testimony fully on human rights,¹ and to labor at some other things that may be useful ; but if I do not, some one else will be commissioned, who will do it better. I am in the midst of that subject now, and I ask your prayers that I may be enabled to treat it properly. I proceed slowly. It is difficult to state articulately truth that is so simple, and to state it so as to impress man.

“However, I make some progress. I hope I have been directed to do it so as to aid Christ’s little ones. The more I think of it, the more unextinguishable is my abhorrence of oppression, especially of our own slavery.”

Dr. Wayland undertook to maintain the weekly service of the First Baptist Church on Wednesday evenings, during the summer months of the year 1859, instead of having it suspended, as had been the custom. He gave at the time a series of expository discourses on the Epistle to the Ephesians. It was a costly series for him ; he should rather have been tak-

¹ Alluding to the chapter in his *Moral Science* which discusses that subject.

ing a needed rest and vacation, but, as he said, "I have never learned to amuse myself." The audiences which gathered to hear him, in spite of summer heat, were large. But he labored in the unfolding of his subject.

There was noticeable a loss of his former power in such services. It was only the indication of more serious trouble to come. The work of revising the chapters on slavery in the Moral Science, the responsibility of which the growing public excitement on the question made more stringent, came directly upon this exhaustion, and early in the spring of 1860, the symptoms of paralysis appeared. He himself noticed that his "thinking powers were in some way disordered," that his "speech was affected. Some words I could not pronounce without effort, and my organs would not obey me without a special act of the will, and then only imperfectly." . . .

"It was necessary for me to answer a note. I found it impossible to write as usual, or in fact more than barely legibly. I could not keep on the line, nor command my hand so as to form the letters distinctly. My first attempt could not, I think, be understood. I tried a second time, and by writing slowly, and with constant attention of the will to every letter, succeeded a little better, but only a little. I at once perceived that something was the matter with my brain. I took

medical advice. . . . I soon saw Dr. Jackson of Boston. He told me, contrary to all my expectation, that it would take eighteen months or two years before I could be restored. During this interval of enforced leisure, Dr. Wayland wrote out the *Reminiscences*. This, together with the "Introduction" to the "Life of Trust," George Müller's autobiography, was his only mental occupation.

From the beginning, Dr. Wayland had been a close observer of the antislavery agitation. As it waxed hotter and hotter, his feeling was roused. His views of the duties of an American citizen would not suffer him to bury himself in his literary projects, and hold himself aloof from active participation in the coming struggle, whose issue in internecine strife he foresaw. In the spring of 1854, at a meeting of the citizens of Providence called to enter solemn protest against the passing of the so-called Nebraska bill, he made a speech published in all the leading northern newspapers. The points he made against the bill were all taken on the broad ground that it was flagitious to establish slavery throughout all the territories concerned. "I protest," he said, "against this bill in the first place, because it proposes to violate the great elementary law, on which not only government, but society itself is founded, — the principle that every man has a

right to himself. Second, as an American citizen, I protest against this bill. Third, as a citizen of a free state, I protest against this bill. Fourth, I protest against it, as a Christian."

This address fixed Dr. Wayland's position as one of the great leaders in the trying times that were to follow. The "National Era," the organ of the prominent antislavery men, "declared that no such specimen of compact logic had been addressed to the American people since the death of Daniel Webster." Up to this time, he had been in correspondence with many of the better and sounder thinking men of the south. It is true, as an eminent Baptist minister in one of the border States said, that "the southern people would hear Dr. Wayland, after they had ceased to hear any other northern man." But the temper toward him changed after this address. He was denounced, and his text-books excluded from use in southern literary institutions.

His private correspondence during this period discloses even more fully the attitude of his mind. From the moment of its passage he had an intense and outspoken abhorrence for the Fugitive Slave Law. When under that law in the summer of 1854, Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave, was on trial in Boston, the danger was that the opposition to it would break over all bounds. The court-house, virtually in chains, was

guarded like a prison, and slavery, like a gigantic Shylock defying the outraged sentiment of the community with its appeals to the cruel "bond," proclaiming as its justification, "I stand here for law," all this had excited the minds of the New England people to a perilous degree. It was, however, characteristic of Dr. Wayland to write to his son as follows : —

"Keep down your passions; pray for the country; try to look as patiently as possible upon wrong-doers. In the meantime, proclaim the principles of right, their obligation and supremacy, and nerve men to be willing to suffer loss in consequence of them. What is wanted is to extend and deepen the feeling of resistance to oppression, and of determination at all hazards to be free from participation in it. When this is universal, united, and moral, nothing can withstand it, and the agents to carry it on will soon appear. Do not allow yourself in strong excitement, but rather lift up the case with both hands, and all your heart, to the Judge of all the earth; plead his promises and his perfections, and wait for the indications of his providence. This seems present duty. Write, publish, enjoin the people; direct the present feeling in proper channels. This is all I see at present."

In the same vein he writes to a lawyer, his former pupil. He had disapproved of the ex-

tremes of denunciation to which the earlier abolitionists had been addicted; he was now solicitous to have the just and growing opposition to slavery make no mistakes. He had done much to create an intelligent and solid antislavery sentiment. He was now concerned to guide its manifestations in proper channels.

“The times look grave. I hope that the spirit of the North is at last aroused. It seems to me that the thing to be done is not to be committed to any rash or sudden measure, but to deepen, extend, and unite the antislavery feeling. I never before have been deeply moved by any political question. May God direct it all to the advancement of truth and righteousness! Do not be anxious to take extreme, but rather solid ground, and thus carry all sober men with you. . . . “I want the spirit of freedom and sense of right extended in every direction; not by violence that cannot be defended, but by showing the right, and keeping people out of the wrong. I never knew anything so intensely and cumulatively abominable. It is a matter of deep and anxious thought. You should study it carefully, and make up your mind on all points, so that if a time comes for action, you may be prepared with good reasons for yourself and others.”

Meantime the Republican party had been formed with John C. Fremont as its candidate

for the presidency. With this party he at once identified himself, casting his vote for its candidates. He watched the progress of the campaign with profound solicitude. He hailed, indeed, the appearance of this party as a hopeful sign. In June, 1856, he had written to Hon. C. G. Loring, Boston: "Since I saw you, I have thought of but one subject, — the condition of the Northern States. We have neglected the sighing of the captive, and said that slavery was, after all, a small matter; and God is giving us a taste of it, that we may see how we like it ourselves. The iron already enters my soul. I feel that we are governed, not by law and the expression of the universal conscience of the nation, but by bowie-knives, bludgeons, and the lash. I hope that the conscience and love of liberty in this people will be roused.

"You mentioned a thought to me, to which I attach great importance; it is the formation of some plan of concert among the Free States. We must have concert, and *act upon a plan*. It may require some time and labor and sacrifice, but it is worth them all.

"But amidst all this confusion God reigns, and the wrath of man shall praise Him, and the remainder of wrath He will restrain. I try to uphold my hopes for my country by falling back on the character of God. There only is our trust."

The result of the election in no way dispirited him. He was wont to seek for general principles to guide him in his conduct, and as supports when human effort had done its best. His support in this case was found in the belief that God's providence is nowhere more conspicuously manifest than in its watch over the interests of truth and righteousness. This article in his creed was inwrought into his life. All his correspondence shows how much he made of the Psalmist's view of God, as a Refuge, a Shield and Buckler, a Strong Tower, and Rock of Defence.

To the Rev. Dr. Bartol he wrote, after the election had resulted in the choice of Buchanan, November 17, 1856 : —

“ Well, the election is over, and I am satisfied. We have at last a North. It is an expression of decidedly changed public opinion. We have now a basis of operations, and have only to be united, to keep alive the moral sentiment of the people, to diffuse light, and to gain the next tier of States, and the result is sure. If Fremont had gone in with new and undisciplined men, and a Senate and a House against him, we should have been broken up. Now I think the chances of freedom are good. God prosper the right ! ”

Through all the four years of Buchanan's administration, he watched the course of public af-

fairs closely. Deeply absorbed in his temporary pastorate as he was, suffering from the prostration which came upon him in consequence of his labors, and then resting from them in enforced leisure, there does not appear in his correspondence much allusion to the times. He spoke of John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry as madness, but did justice to the "bravery, coolness, and evident sincerity of the old captain." He thought the result would be to "raise the tone of antislavery feeling several degrees higher throughout the North."

The nomination and election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 received his hearty support. He was then quietly resting from his overtaken condition of mind and body. But that he was all alive to the issues involved in that election, gathering solemnity with every hour, is indicated in the following extract from a letter to his son. "Since the evening of the 6th [November, 1860], I have breathed more freely. It is plain that the only constitutional party is the Republican. Nothing would be acceptable to the South but our entire submission, that we should become slaves. This we are not yet ready for. It is a question, not of black, but of white slavery."

Dr. Wayland had publicly and frequently animadverted upon war as in many cases not only

an evil of incalculable extent, but as needless. He had warmly advocated arbitration as the true mode of settling international disputes. With such views he had held for some years the presidency of the American Peace Society. He, however, had no hesitation as to the duty of the North in the awful crisis of 1861. The following letter to Hon. Lafayette Foster, of Connecticut, is eminently characteristic of him, especially his words, "*The best place to meet a difficulty is just where God puts it. If we dodge it, it will come in a worse place.*"

"It is one of the most wicked things, I fear, that God ever looked upon. It is a legitimate effect of slavery. The prostitution of conscience in one thing leads to its universal prostitution. . . . Well, what is to be done? I dare not pray for any one thing, only that a just and holy God would glorify himself, and deliver the oppressed, and show himself in favor of justice, by giving strength to right and to those who preserve it. In looking for this, I have not forgotten you. . . .

"Can it be doubted on which side God will declare himself? Can we doubt that, if we look to him in faith, he will bring forth judgment unto victory? If you want to see how God looks upon oppression, read the ninety-fifth Psalm. I hope all our friends will continue firm,

and sacrifice no principle for present advantage. The best place to meet a difficulty is just where God puts it. If we dodge it, it will come in a worse place. May God grant you wisdom! Look to Him, and lean upon Him in confidence and earnest faith."

From the time the terrible struggle opened in the attack on Fort Sumter to the close of the war, he was thoroughly alive, active, and observant of every phase. The deeper the country was plunged into its throes for existence, the more undaunted was his faith in Divine Providence. He foresaw with remarkable clearness what the contest would ultimately involve. The Emancipation Proclamation took him by no surprise, as the following extract from a letter to his son, dated January 18, 1861, will show:—

"God is about to bring slavery forever to an end. He has taken it into his own hands, and allowed the South to have its own way. They proclaim slavery as a most religious thing, for which they are willing to die. God is taking this way to free us from complicity, and to let them try it by themselves. Greater madness never existed. But 'the Lord is known by the judgment which he executeth; the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands.'"

Holding such views of the Divine Providential control over events, he accepted the related

doctrine of intercessory prayer. He believed simply and with his whole soul in God, not less as the Hearer and the Answerer of prayer, than as the Creator and Ruler of the Universe. This was one of the characteristic things about his whole Christian life. Philosophical or scientific objections to this view of prayer, never seem to have in any way troubled him. He was familiar with them, of course, but they never for a moment paralyzed the force or abated one jot the intensity of his belief in the power of prayer to secure directly blessings for the nation as for the individual. In all this crisis of the national life this belief comes to the front. He had the greatest admiration for the character of Cromwell. He believed in his sincerity as well as his ability. He had the Cromwellian spirit in the matter of prayer as fully as in that of the wielding of the sword. Hence he was constantly engaged in efforts to promote the prayerful spirit in the souls of Christian men. At the request of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society, at Boston, a tract on "Prayer for the Country" was prepared by him. To a member of Congress he wrote: —

"Why could not you, and one or two whom you might know, meet in private for prayer? I do not think much of prayer meetings for such

objects in a place where it may be [thought] for bunkum, though I would encourage calling upon God in every reasonable and devout form ; but for myself I enjoy such things most with a congenial few in a private chamber, the doors being closed."

Again to a chaplain in the army : —

"I have great faith in the prayer of the poor down-trodden Africans held in bondage, deprived of the privilege of reading the word of salvation, who cry day and night unto Him."

To his sister in the same strain : —

"As to public matters, I have very little to say, except it be to bless God for his repeated appearances in our behalf. I hardly dare read newspapers ; in fact for several years I have not seen the time when I read them so little as now. I am always apprehensive of defeat and slaughter ; or if victory is given to us, the death of men who have made themselves enemies, but to whom I have no feeling of enmity, is sad beyond anything that I can express. I cannot get these things out of my mind, and they prevent me from sleeping. I say, *Lord, how long?* Shall the sword devour forever ? Say to the Destroying Angel, 'It is enough ; put up thy sword into its sheath.' I beseech you, pray without ceasing for this beloved country, for friends and enemies ; that God would give these latter better minds."

In the charities which sprang from the necessities of the war, its Sanitary and Christian Commissions, and in the efforts to educate the negroes as they came under the cognizance of the army, the philanthropic spirit of Dr. Wayland found ample means of expressing itself. There was nothing he could do as a citizen, to sustain the cause of the North, which he left undone. He would march with a regiment of troops to their embarkation, and send them forth with the benediction of his prayer; he would use his pen in writing tracts; he would give his counsel to chaplains and members of Congress; he would preside at meetings of the Christian Commission; in short, during the four years' terrible struggle it was the absorbing thing with him. It stirred his religious being to its depths, it enlisted his intellectual nature in thought upon the issues involved. From beginning to end of the long strife, he had never faltered. In its darkest day, his confidence in God kept him serene. He was always patient under the reactionary influences of our many reverses. The very fact that he had up to this time stood somewhat aloof from political parties; that he had on occasion, as in the case of the Mexican war, not hesitated to declare his independence of all parties united in its support; that his patriotism was not blind devotion to his country, "right or wrong," — all this lifted the

loyal devotion of Dr. Wayland to his country, in the time of her deadly peril, into magnificent distinctness, and drew from men of all parties the profoundest homage. The freedom from every thing like political partisanship, and the firm devotion to his great doctrine of human rights, the long antagonism to slavery, and the unswerving support of the war for our national existence, gave him a towering position in his city and his State. The city was proud of him, the State was proud of him. His life since the resignation of the presidency, his great activity in labors philanthropic and religious, had endeared him, where before he had been only admired. The feeling of the community toward him had a conspicuous and most impressive exhibition in an incident which occurred when all was over and the nation had been saved.

The tidings of the assassination of President Lincoln had fallen as lightning from heaven upon the nation the morning of that woful 15th of April, 1865. For a time all alike were stunned and bewildered by the awful stroke, and then slowly woke to the solemnity of the dreadful crisis. The citizens of Providence, as indeed of every community, throughout the early hours of that agonizing day, gathered here and there in groups, with bated breath discussing the terrible event. Slowly the conviction grew and

took shape that some expression must be given to the pent-up anguish of the lamenting city. But who could meet the crisis with fitting words? To whom could the citizens turn in the hour of their desolation for the thoughts which would uphold, and for the counsels which would console and guide them in this day of calamity and woe. The instinctive feeling was that Dr. Wayland should be sought for this high occasion and solemn office.

Later in the afternoon of the same day, a gentleman called in behalf of the citizens of Providence to request him to attend and address a public meeting in the evening. Dr. Wayland was compelled to decline this invitation, feeling his strength at that time inadequate to the effort. The gentleman then said, "Will you address them if they will come to your house?" This request he could not refuse. Accordingly, not far from nightfall a body of citizens, numbering about fifteen hundred, led by a band of music, climbed the steep hill, and gathered about the platform which had been erected near the corner of his house. The evening shadows had been slowly gathering, and the falling rain made the gloom more palpable. After a prayer by the Rev. Dr. Caswell, Dr. Wayland rose to address for the last time his fellow-citizens. Of his appearance at that place and hour the late Profes-

sor Diman, himself an eye-witness of the impressive scene, has eloquently said: "Should Rhode Island ever erect a statue to the noblest Roman whose name is written in her history, let the cunning hand of the sculptor chisel him as he stood that night, and by his own door, his gray locks waving in the wind, but with eye undimmed and natural force unabated, bidding his fellow-citizens be of good cheer, for the Lord on high was mightier than the voice of many waters, — his words finding fit response in the solemn burden of the Psalm that swelled through the leafless branches against the overhanging blackness of the heavens."

In his address, Dr. Wayland first dwelt upon the great martyr. For the character and services of Lincoln, he had a lofty appreciation. These he dwelt on in brief but fitting eulogy. Then he gave utterance to what seemed to him the lessons of an hour pregnant with moral issues, vast and far-reaching, and the address fitly closed with words of sublime trust, of serene confidence in God, the Almighty Ruler, and of thanksgiving for what had been wrought out under the leadership of the martyred dead. He lifted his audience with him to this high plane of hope and comfort. It was an impressive tribute to his moral power, to his commanding influence, that as the great throng dispersed

slowly, not one there but felt that somehow the dark cloud had been pierced with light and the awful burden lessened. This spontaneous turning to Dr. Wayland on the part of his fellow-citizens as the one man in all that city of thousands from whose lips they could have counsels adequate to such a crisis, consolation amid such woe, hopes under such a stroke, was the crown of that long, laborious, and lofty career as a citizen of Rhode Island.

Up to the very close of his life, he kept at work. His correspondence was very large. All sorts of questions touching cases of conscience or of Church discipline, points of moral science or of Christian doctrine, were sent him, often by unknown correspondents. They were answered. They added no little to the work of his busy pen. No sooner had he recovered from the illness of 1860 than he turned at once to authorship. In 1863, he published a small treatise entitled "Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel." Evidently they were the immediate fruit of the pastorate, in which he had labored so successfully. Exceptions were taken to the tone of the work as too darkly portraying the actual Christianity of the churches. An incident in connection with the publishing of the letters is truly illustrative of their author. It is recorded by a clergyman, a much valued friend.

“As I was sitting with him one day, not long since, in his study, he conversed very freely, with the tears rolling down his face, concerning the ungracious reception which had been accorded by the ministry, to his honest and earnest attempt to raise the type of piety among his brethren, and to bring about a more thorough preaching of the Gospel. Never can I forget the tone of amazement and sadness in which he raised his voice, at the same time lifting his clasped hands and tearful eyes heavenward, and exclaimed: ‘My God! Thou knowest all things, — Thou knowest I have spoken the truth in regard to the condition of religion among us, but my dear brethren will not receive it from thy unworthy servant.’ Then suddenly turning to me, with the smile peculiar to him, he said, ‘But, my son, we must not expect to be above our Lord. Perhaps when I’m in my grave, God will show them that I was right.’”

During the winter of 1863–64, casually opening the life of Chalmers, Dr. Wayland’s early interest in the great Scottish divine was rekindled, and he read once more the well-known biography by Dr. Hanna. His visit to Dr. Chalmers during his trip to England, and the personal acquaintance which followed, had deepened the admiration for this foremost Scotch preacher. It occurred to him that a shorter volume than Dr.

Hanna's biography, setting forth the "distinctly Christian and evangelical labors" of Dr. Chalmers, in which, indeed, he thought the real greatness of Chalmers lay, would illustrate and enforce his own teachings in the "Letters on the Christian Ministry." He accordingly prepared and published in 1864 "A Memoir of the Christian Labors, Pastoral and Philanthropic, of Thomas Chalmers." But Dr. Wayland's labors were fast coming to their close. In 1865, he published in the "American Presbyterian and Theological Review" one article on John Foster's celebrated letter on the "Doctrine of Future Punishment," and another on the "Ministry of David Brainard." The revision of the "Moral Science," was also completed, and then his busy pen had finished its work.

To the last, however, he was engaged in philanthropic efforts of the humblest type, as well as of the greatest public importance. While he was writing of Chalmers's labors in the Free Church, at St. John's and St. Andrew's, he taught a class in the Sabbath-school of the colored church on Meeting Street, near his residence. The heat of the summer of 1865 made the labors he was putting forth still more exhausting. Feeble as he was, he went on September 5 to attend a meeting for the organization of the "Cushing Institute," at Ashburnham, Mass., an academy

of high grade founded by his brother-in-law, Thomas P. Cushing, of Boston. Chosen president of the Board, at the request of his associates, he gave his views as to the course of studies demanded in such an institution.

“He mentioned particularly reading, spelling, penmanship, music, grammar, rhetoric, geography, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, trigonometry, natural philosophy, botany, physiology, agriculture, drawing, bookkeeping, intellectual and moral philosophy, political economy, and the science of government. In this plan neither ancient nor modern languages found a place.

“The scholars were to be carefully instructed in the use of their mother tongue. He would have no classes preparing for college, on the ground that an arrangement of that kind might foster distinctions, excite jealousies, and produce an unhappy effect on those students who should confine themselves to the English studies. Besides, he had observed that in schools where the classics are taught they receive undue honor and attention. On this point he spoke at length and with great earnestness. He believed that the Cushing Institute would better subserve its design by giving instruction in the English branches only.”

His last appearance in public was at a meeting of the Warren Association in Providence. He was present at all the sessions except those

held in the evening. The regular business of the association had been finished on Thursday morning, September 14, when Dr. Wayland was asked, "Will you address the association, if we decide to hold an afternoon service?" He consented to the arrangement, and it was evident that he was deeply interested in the proposition. He hurried to the church after the brief intermission, and was in his seat before the meeting was called to order. When he rose to speak, his words had the profound earnestness, but also the deep tenderness, he knew so well how to blend in such addresses. He did not know, and his brethren could not know, that it was the last time his voice would ever be heard as an "ambassador of Christ." But his last counsels to his brethren could not have been more suffused with the "spiritual mind," nor more in keeping with the Christian career so soon to end.

The debility of which he had been complaining for some months previous now rapidly increased. On Friday, September 22, he took a walk as usual, but his companion noticed an unwonted silence. His walks had been the occasions on which his conversation flowed most freely. On the day following, his weakness was so great that he could with difficulty sign his name. To an intimate Christian friend, who was by his bedside on Sunday evening, he uttered his thoughts in view of the approaching end.

“I feel that my race is nearly run. I have indeed tried to do my duty. I cannot accuse myself of having neglected any known obligation. I see all this avails nothing. I plead no dependence on anything but the righteousness and death of Jesus Christ. I have never enjoyed the raptures of faith vouchsafed to many Christians. I do not undervalue these feelings, but it has not pleased God to bestow them upon me. I have, however, a confident hope that I am accepted in the Beloved.”

On Monday, a bright September sun was shining, and he was tempted to rise and go once more into the garden, in which every tree had been set out by his own hands, and in which every plant had been placed under his direction or by his own act. He wished to visit the garden as a dear friend. In that, and in the one connected with the president's house, he had passed many of his happiest hours. No wonder that he wanted once more to see the outer world, and take, it may be, a farewell of it. From that hour his illness grew in severity. On Tuesday morning he was stricken with paralysis. Once, by a look of affectionate intelligence, and the answer, “Yes,” to his oldest son's question, “Do you know me, father,” he showed that his mind was still under his control. But unconsciousness immediately supervened. His relatives were all summoned. “On Saturday afternoon, September

30, 1865, at twenty minutes before six, his wife, his three sons, his sisters, and the wife of one of his sons, stood by his bedside. It was apparent that a change was at hand. His daughter, seeing that the end was near, gently laid her hand upon his cheek. He opened his eyes with an expression of entire consciousness, the same, exactly, that his children had so often seen on his face in the study, as he looked up from his Bible, and of perfect intelligence, but an intelligence not of this world. Then he closed them, and all was over.”¹

The next morning, that of Sunday, the tolling of the bell of the First Baptist Church announced to the city the event of his decease. The public journals, the associations of Baptist ministers in Boston and New York, the alumni of the college, hastened to pay their tributes of respect for his excellent character, eminent services, and blessed memory. The funeral took place on Wednesday morning, from the church where he had been a worshiper so long, and in whose pulpit he had so often stood. It was attended by “the Corporation and Faculty of the University, by the delegates chosen by the Baptist ministers of Boston, by men of eminence in literature, in science, in political station, by citizens of Rhode Island, and by residents of remote states.”

¹ *Life*, vol. ii. p. 361.

The services were simple. Prayer was offered and the Scriptures read by Rev. Dr. S. E. Caldwell, pastor of the church. An address was made by Rev. Dr. Caswell of the university, between whom and Dr. Wayland had existed an unbroken and close intimacy of more than twenty years. Then, after a closing prayer by Rev. Dr. Swaim, the remains were borne to the old "North Burying Ground." There, amid the graves of those he had loved and honored, his own last resting-place had been chosen, and there he was buried.

On the Sunday following the funeral, sermons commemorating Dr. Wayland's life and services were preached from pulpits in Providence, Boston, New York, and elsewhere. They were preached by clergymen of widely differing views. It was fitting that he, whose spirit was so catholic, should have this tribute. The series of commemorations was worthily closed by an address to the alumni of the college at the Commencement next ensuing, September 4, 1866. This discourse was given by Professor George Ide Chace, of the University, who had been one of his colleagues in the Faculty since the early days of Dr. Wayland's presidency, and who had known him during the intervening years in daily and familiar intercourse, — the intercourse of friends as well as colleagues.

CHAPTER VI.

DR. WAYLAND AS AN EDUCATOR.

WITH his resignation of the presidency of Brown University, Dr. Wayland's active career as an educator ended. His entrance upon it had not been his original aim. That aim had been the ministry of the Gospel. He expressed in later years the conviction that he had erred in leaving the pulpit for the presidential chair. Any adequate survey of what he accomplished in the cause of education is a sufficient refutation of this mistaken judgment. A study of his life makes it clear that he had, in the providential ordering of his career, what may be considered a special training for his work as an educator. In fact he was a born teacher. He had no desire to acquire knowledge simply to furnish his own mind withal. He could not truthfully be described as a man with a great love of learning for its own sake. His search for knowledge was mainly for purposes of impartation. He gained few acquisitions outside the circle of studies he was himself teaching. While this resulted in making him less the man

of learning, it made him, as often happens, more the teacher. The defects of his own early training in school left on him a deep and lasting impression, which he turned to good account. In his *Reminiscences*, after recalling an incident in his school-life illustrating the faulty methods of teaching then in vogue,¹ he makes the comment, "From this incident I have learned to convey a new idea to the young with the greatest simplicity in my power, and not to be satisfied until I see that they are able to comprehend the radical conception without the use of technical terms." His four years of tutorship at Union College were a direct and efficient preparation for his subsequent labors. They gave him insight into educational problems, they made him familiar with the inside working of collegiate institutions, they gave him experience in handling classes. Added to all this, was the influence upon him of two so noted educators as Dr. Nott and Professor Stuart. With both these men he was thrown into relations of unusual intimacy. From both of them he gained an enthusiasm in the work of teaching, and for the cause of education. Moses Stuart was always to him the ideal teacher. His training, therefore, for his post as an educator was one of uncommon breadth and efficiency. The educational period in his

¹ *Memoir*, vol. i. p. 23.

life occupies a middle position. He began his life-work as a city pastor. His last labors were in and for the Christian ministry. This middle period, — the best years of his life, — from 1827 to 1855, with all their varied occupation along lines of educational effort, should now be fully considered. Of the outward events connected with his administration of the presidency of Brown University, account has been given in the two preceding chapters. His relations to collegiate, popular, and theological education should now be detailed, and a more specific view given of his work in the professor's chair. The salient characteristic of his career as a teacher is its progressiveness, his unwillingness to rest in outworn methods, his desire to reach a higher point in university training. We find that the work at Brown University falls into two well marked divisions. Twice he may be said to have reorganized the institution: first, when in 1827 he was called to its presidency; and again in 1850, when what was called the "New System" went into operation under his instigation and leadership.

It is a significant fact that he seems to have had in mind from his first official connection with the college all the changes which were introduced in 1850. They were, as proposed in 1827, too far in advance of the time. "I was

deeply impressed with the importance of two things: first, of carrying into practice every science which was taught in theory; and, secondly, of adapting the whole course of instruction, as far as possible, to the wants of the whole community. The first seemed to me all-important as a means of intellectual discipline. The abstract principles of a science, if learned merely as disconnected truths, are soon forgotten. If combined with application to matters of actual existence, they will be remembered. Nor is this all. By uniting practice with theory, the mind acquires the habit of acting in obedience to law, and thus is brought into harmony with a universe which is governed by law.

“In the second place, if education is good for one class of the community, it is good for all classes. Not that the same studies are to be pursued by all, but that each one should have the same opportunity of pursuing such studies as will be of the greatest advantage to him in the course of life which he has chosen.” He further remarks on his inability at that time to carry these ideas into practice that “they did not seem either to the Faculty or the Corporation practical, but rather as visionary.” But if he did not at once succeed in carrying out his more advanced views, he in the first decade of his presidency transformed the college. He put

discipline on a true basis, made it thorough, effective, and salutary. He reconstructed the teaching of the college, changed its methods and its spirit, as well as enlarged its domain. He provided those essentials in a college system, too commonly regarded as subsidiaries, — a well equipped library and laboratories. Above all, he infused into it the true spirit of a university, which it has never lost, and by the force of which it has gained so high and deserved rank among its sister institutions of New England. He accomplished all this in the face of opposition. It was powerful and prolonged. The newspapers were arrayed against him. Public addresses were aimed against his plans. He exercised patience, kept silence, and waited for time to vindicate the wisdom of his methods. The opposition was soon overcome. After a year or two of suspense, his victory was won. Some of his changes are now perhaps superannuated. They did their work well in their time, and must be judged by the existing exigencies and not by the conditions of to-day. His resignation of the presidency in 1849 was undoubtedly caused by the declining number of students. That decline made a financial crisis in the history of the college, since it had a very limited endowment, and was dependent largely for its current expenses, then very moderate, on tuition fees.

But even if the numbers of the students had continued to increase, as they did in the early years of his work there, it would have been wholly unlike Dr. Wayland not to push his ideas of reform in collegiate training. The "Report to the Corporation of Brown University on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education" embodies those ideas in the shape in which years of thought on the whole subject had matured them. The principles on which they were founded, the special reasons for adopting them in Brown University, have already been given in the survey of his career as president. It is here in place, to consider the specific plans¹ he proposed in accordance with his repeated statement that higher education should adapt its instruction to the wants of the whole community.

1. "The present system of adjusting collegiate study to a fixed term of four years, or to any other term, must be abandoned, and every student be allowed, within limits to be determined by statute, to carry on, at the same time, a greater or less number of courses, as he may choose.

2. "The time allotted to each particular course of instruction would be determined by the nature of the course itself, and not by its

¹ *Report*, pp. 51-53.

supposed relation to the wants of any particular profession.

3. "The various courses should be so arranged that, in so far as it is practicable, every student might study what he chose, all that he chose, and nothing but what he chose. The Faculty, however, at the request of a parent or guardian should have authority to assign to any student such courses as they might deem for his advantage.

4. "Every course of instruction, after it has been commenced, should be continued without interruption until it is completed.

5. "In addition to the present courses of instruction, such others should be established as the wants of the various classes of the community require.

6. "Every student attending any particular course should be at liberty to attend any other that he may desire.

7. . . . "No student would be under any obligation to proceed to a degree, unless he chose.

8. "Every student would be entitled to a certificate of such proficiency as he may have made, in every course that he has pursued."

These were the proposed changes from the former system of study in the college. They were followed by an outline of courses, fifteen in number. The courses in Latin and Greek

were to occupy two years, as also that in Pure Mathematics. The course in English Language and Rhetoric was to occupy but one year, and that of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy one year. But among these courses was to be one on the Science of Teaching, one on the Principles of Agriculture, one on the application of Chemistry to the Arts, and one on the Science of Law. It is evident that Dr. Wayland did not put this forth as any scheme of complete education. It was simply what he judged could be wisely attempted in his own college. He follows the outlines of such courses with this remark: "It by no means is to be taken for granted, in a country like our own, that every college is to teach the same studies, and to the same extent. It would be far better that each should consult the wants of its own locality, and do that best for which it possesses the greatest facilities. Here would arise opportunities for diversified forms of excellence; the knowledge most wanted would the more easily become diffused, and the general progress of science would receive an important impulse from every institution of learning in our land."

The Report also advocated a change in the terms of support for professors. Instead of receiving from the College Treasurer a fixed sum as salary, a given income was to be assigned

to each professor on some equitable principle. Then the remainder of his compensation was to depend upon the fees for his courses from students taking them. He further advocated as deserving of consideration a system of *privat-docenten* such as is found in German universities. Finally he considered the question of academic degrees. After unfolding the meaning of an academical degree and discussing the privileges conveyed by it, he pursued an inquiry into the "statutory requirements which have governed colleges and universities in the conferring of degrees." In this he confines his attention to the universities of Great Britain. The preliminary discussion of the subject is meagre, and only serves as a basis for indicating his views in general.

1. "The degree of A. M. as well as that of A. B. should be made to signify a certain amount of knowledge," in other words, be conferred upon examination and not in course.

2. For the given amount of Latin, Greek, Mathematics, etc., as ordinarily required for the A. B. degree, equivalents might be accepted.

He anticipated an objection to this plan in its probable effect in diminishing the amount of classical study. As this passage defines his position on this question, it should be quoted at length.

“If by placing Latin and Greek upon their own merits, they are unable to retain their present place in the education of civilized and Christianized man, then let them give place to something better. They have, by right, no pre-eminence over other studies, and it is absurd to claim it for them. But we go further. In our present system we devote some six or seven years to the compulsory study of the classics. Besides innumerable academies, we have one hundred and twenty colleges,¹ in which for a large part of the time classical studies occupy the labors of the student. And what is the fruit? How many of these students read either classical Greek or Latin after they leave college? If, with all this labor we fail to imbue our young men with a love for the classics, is there any reason to fear that any change will render their position less advantageous? Is there not reason to hope, that by rendering this study less compulsory, and allowing those who have a taste for it to devote themselves more thoroughly to classical reading, we shall raise it from its present depression, and derive from it all the benefit which it is able to confer?”

It is interesting to note in this connection Dr. Wayland's expressed sympathy with the views of Herbert Spencer on education. In 1862, he

¹ This was in 1850.

wrote his son, "I have read Herbert Spencer through, and some of the essays twice, and have read his volume on education. . . . His book will do much to change the opinions of the civilized world. . . . As to the worth of knowledge he is very strong. Here, he and I are aiming at the same thing. I did not expect to see in my day any one with whose views I could so sincerely sympathize." Later on, Dr. Wayland said of the changes in the system of instruction at Brown University actually adopted in 1850 by the Corporation, "they did not go so far as I would have chosen, and did not with sufficient freedom carry out the principles on which (they) were founded. It was partly a compromise between the old ideas and the new, and was, perhaps, the best arrangement that could be adopted." It will put Dr. Wayland's position as an advocate of such changes in the collegiate course in a clearer light, if the attitude of other prominent colleges toward the elective system be pointed out. In the University of Virginia the scheme of instruction never contemplated a fixed and uniform curriculum of study to be pursued by every student alike without discrimination. The elective method, and no other, has been in vogue there from its origin. To that University belongs the honor then of being the oldest advocate of election in studies.

From an elaborate Report to the Board of Overseers of Harvard College by President Eliot for 1883-84, the following interesting facts in the history of elective studies in that institution have been obtained. As early as 1824 the "Juniors could choose a substitute for thirty-eight lessons in Hebrew, and Seniors had a choice between Chemistry and Fluxions." From that time on for twenty-five years there was a tendency to develop the elective system more fully. In 1838 "Professor Beck and Professor Felton proposed to President Quincy to *require* of all (students) only the classical studies of the Freshman year," and enforced their proposal with the statement that probably "a liberty of choice will increase the zeal and application of students in the classical departments, and raise materially the standard of scholarship."¹ The Faculty Records show that up to the year 1849, the elective system was growing in favor.²

With the advent of President Sparks in 1849 there came a reactionary movement, which for a time impeded the development of the elective principle in college studies. He was its decided opponent, and for several years it was not only held in check, but was seriously curtailed.³ The

¹ *Report of President Eliot for 1883-84*, p. 11.

² *Ibid.* pp. 11-17.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 18, 19.

expansion of the system into its present proportions at Harvard University dates from the year 1865-66.

Yale College appears to have been much slower than Harvard in introducing to students the privilege of election. "The present system of elective studies extending through Junior and Senior years of the college course, was adopted in 1876. For many years before that, there had been a very limited option open to students."¹ At Princeton College there had been some optional studies, but not until President McCosh entered on his office in 1868 was the elective system pursued to any extent. It thus appears that at the time President Wayland proposed his "New System" to the Corporation of Brown University, the University of Virginia was the only institution in which the plan of elective courses had been thoroughly organized. The attitude of Harvard College was at that time, under President Sparks, hostile to its continuance, although a considerable body of the professors there were and had been for some time earnest advocates of election. Neither Yale nor Princeton had introduced it. Dr. Wayland was regarded as an iconoclast in the matter of study of the classics, notwithstanding the fact that his ground was precisely that

¹ *MS. Letter of Professor Dexter.*

taken by Professor Beck and Professor Felton of Harvard College in 1838. Dr. Wayland must therefore be accorded the credit of taking up and pushing the scheme of elective study at a time, 1850, when it found favor in no Northern college, and existed only in the University of Virginia. He had advocated boldly the adoption of the elective system. Such words as these, "the various courses should be so arranged, that in so far as it is practicable, *every student may study what he chooses, all that he chooses, and nothing but what he chooses,*" were far in advance of what educators of the New Englander thought wise. They seem to-day to some of the best friends of higher education too extreme. But in all our larger institutions the elective system is pursued to a greater or less degree, and the tendency all the while is toward a widening of the plan. In other words, the drift of our higher education has been steadily toward the principles laid down by Dr. Wayland in his "Report on the Changes in the System of Collegiate Education," made to the Corporation of Brown University in 1850. These views of education were not on his part the result of reading, nor of observation. He saw nothing of German universities while abroad in 1840. He saw little of the English universities, though he visited them. He never relied much in form-

ing his opinions on what other men had said. In constructing his text-books, his research was comparatively small. He thought things out for himself, cared little for a reputation for learning, and in the case of higher education trusted mainly to his own observation and experience. And yet he seems very accurately to have anticipated what would be the type of education sought in American colleges. While his main work and deepest interest were in the field of higher education, his position as an educator cannot be estimated without reference to his efforts for popular and secondary education.

No sooner had he assumed the presidency of the college than he was appointed chairman of a committee of citizens "to whom was referred the consideration of the present school system of the town of Providence." The report drawn up by him and printed in the "*American Journal of Education*" for July, 1828, discusses the principles on which any system of public schools is founded, especially under our form of government, the mode of instruction to be employed, the kind of text-books, the need of supervision; in fact it was for the time an exhaustive discussion of the subject then growing into vast importance. "It forms," said the editor of the "*Journal of Education*," "a useful document

for reference, whether for information relating to plans of arrangement for public education, or for direct assistance in teaching."

Dr. Wayland's democratic tendency was nowhere more effectively shown than in his sympathy with every form of popular education. He lost no opportunities for evincing this sympathy. It was manifested in the very beginning of his educational career. It lasted to the year of his death. It is safe to say that no movement in the cause of public education in Rhode Island was undertaken without his counsel. That well-known friend and promoter of education, Hon. Henry Barnard, who held in Rhode Island from 1843 to 1849 the position of Commissioner of Public Schools, testified in the "*American Journal of Education*" to Dr. Wayland's active counsel and coöperation "in the great work of organizing an efficient system of public instruction for Rhode Island." As one of the founders and the first president of the American Institute of Instruction, he did much toward making that body the influential and honorable educational society it is to-day. His interest in the founding of libraries was conspicuous. One of his first labors as president of the college was to place the library on a liberal foundation. What that library is to-day, it is mainly through his far-sighted efforts. But he

believed that towns should have their libraries as means of popular education. He assisted in founding the Providence Athenæum, giving the address at its opening. He was instrumental, by the offer of five hundred dollars towards its founding, in securing, in the year 1850, a free library for the town of Wayland, Mass. As a result of this successful movement, an act was passed in 1851 by the Legislature of Massachusetts, which empowered all the towns of the State "to raise money by taxation for the support of free town libraries." His address at the dedication of the Free Academy, Norwich, Conn., in 1856, gives in striking form the proof of his interest in popular education. "I regard," he said, "with special interest the announcement that young men are here to be fitted for the practical employments of life. . . . I look upon the practical arts as a great triumph of human intellect. Our admiration for this sort of talent is legitimate. We do well to revere the genius of Milton and Dante and Goethe. *But there is talent in a cotton-mill as well as in an epic.* And I have often been deeply impressed, as I have stood in the midst of its clattering machinery, with the thought, how great an expenditure of mind has been required to produce these spindles, looms, and engines." Almost the last effort, certainly the last journey, of his life, was made in behalf

of popular education when in September, 1865, he went to Ashburnham, Mass., to assist in organizing the Cushing Institute. Allusion has already been made (page 78) to the request of the Hon. J. Forsyth, Secretary of State, that Dr. Wayland would give his views on the best method of utilizing the Smithsonian bequest. The two plans most urged were the formation of a National Library and the organization of some body for scientific research. Neither of these seemed to Dr. Wayland fitted to meet the full scope of the design of the testator.

The plan which Dr. Wayland submitted in the following October was that of a National University,¹ on the ground that this scheme would most inure to the benefit of the whole country. In defining its functions he said, "The popular place to be occupied by such an institution would be the space between the close of a collegiate education and a professional school. . . . The demand for such advanced instruction now exists very extensively. A considerable portion of our best scholars graduate as early as their nineteenth, twentieth, or twenty-first

¹ The recent proposals to establish a National University at Washington, submitted to Congress, invest Dr. Wayland's project with fresh interest. Should they be carried out, it will only be one more instance of his great acumen in forecasting the future trend of the educational movement in America.

years. If they are sufficiently wealthy, they prefer to wait a year before studying their profession. Some travel, some read, some remain as resident graduates, and many more teach school for a year or two, for the purpose of reviewing their studies. They would gladly resort to an institution in which their time might be profitably employed. The rapidly increasing wealth of our country will very greatly increase the number of such students.

“The advantages which would result from such an institution are various. It would raise up and send abroad in the several professions a new grade of scholars, and thus greatly add to the intellectual power of the nation. But, especially, it would furnish teachers, professors, and officers of every grade for all our other institutions.”

No sensible man would think of questioning the value of what the Smithsonian Institute has accomplished for scientific research. Its praise is in all lands. But it may be questioned whether, after all, Dr. Wayland's idea of a National University was not broader in its scope and more diffusive of educational results over the whole country than the project of a library, or the institution as organized on its present basis. Certain it is that the prosperous career of the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore,

founded a generation later, illustrates and confirms the justice of his position as to the need of such an institution.

His views of theological education seemed to many of his brethren superficial. In his sermon at Rochester on the "Apostolic Ministry," he was thought by some to have depreciated the necessity for a learned ministry. It is plain that he distrusted some of the tendencies of theological seminaries. On reading the life of Dr. Archibald Alexander, he wrote the biographer, Rev. James W. Alexander, D. D., of New York, a letter expressing his very high regard for both the biography and the biographer, giving his own personal recollections of Dr. Archibald Alexander, and closing his letter thus:—

"I now see why Princeton has made good preachers. I agree with your Presbyterian doctrine very well on most points, especially on the marked prominence you give to the work of Christ. I differ from you in some respects. You make the gospel more rectangular and closely reticulated than I do. You see clearly, where I only have an opinion. But you make preachers. The tendency of seminaries is to become schools for theological and philological learning and elegant literature, rather than schools to make preachers of the gospel. With every year the general tendency is in this direction, as I think

I have observed. I have thought this of Princeton. As I would have asked your father, so may I ask you, whether he ever observed it and feared for this tendency?"

This letter began a correspondence between the two on this subject, in which their opinions were found to be in general accord. Dr. Alexander, who had exchanged a chair in Princeton Seminary for a pulpit in New York city, at once and cordially replied to Dr. Wayland's letter, saying among other things, "Most heartily do I assent to your remarks about the literary tendencies of our theological seminaries. I feel it in my heart. Having left the desk for the pulpit, I feel it more." Later he modified this opinion somewhat, and wrote Dr. Wayland, "Remembering the entire history of Princeton I can speak confidently as a witness, though I wish to be modest as a judge. On the whole, the difference between the style of preaching of the first and last students is less marked than I thought, till I came coolly to consider it; and yet the tendency is decided toward learned, elegant, rhetorical sermons. My father saw this, he labored against it; his own practice was against it. But I do not know that he ever ascribed the evil to seminaries. In my poor opinion the evil cannot be laid at the door of seminaries, as such, any more than of colleges."

It would be unjust to represent Dr. Wayland as opposed to theological seminaries. He owed too much to the seminary which had given him the benefit of the teachings of Moses Stuart, to take any such attitude. It is plain, however, that he would modify the curriculum as generally prescribed. He would make such institutions more schools for Biblical study, and less schools of systematic theology.¹ His position in regard to qualifications for the ministry was this: that no church could rightfully exact of all candidates for the sacred office that they should have had a specific amount of literary or theological training; that there might be cases in which a man with the proper gifts, and these trained as best he could, should be admitted at once to the ministry. He believed undoubtedly in *lay* preaching. His sermon at Rochester makes this clear. His views on the whole subject are contained in his *Reminiscences*. They are well worth quoting: —

“I was said to be opposed to ministerial education because I held that a man with the proper moral qualifications might be called to the ministry by any church, and be a useful minister of Christ, and that we had no right to exclude such

¹ “I well remember a conversation which I once had with Professor Stuart bearing on this point. He wanted to see a theological seminary in which nothing should be studied but the Scriptures. — *Life*, vol. i. p. 197.

a man because he had not gone through a nine or ten years' course of study. God calls men to the ministry by bestowing upon them suitable endowments, and an earnest desire to use them for his service. Of those thus called, some may not be by nature adapted to the prosecution of a regular course of study. Many others are too old. Some are men with families. Only a portion are of an age and under conditions which will allow them to undertake what is called a regular training for the ministry, that is, two or three years in an academy, four years in college, and three years in a seminary. But does not every man require the improvement of his mind, in order to preach the gospel? I think he does. His faculties, all of them, are given to him to be used in the service of God, and the more he can do to render them efficient, the more he will have to consecrate to that service. But this is to be conditioned by the circumstances under which he has been placed. A theological seminary should be so constructed as to give the greatest assistance to each of these various classes of candidates. Some may be able to take a smaller, others a greater amount of study. Let each be at liberty to take what he can, and then the seminary is at rest. It has done what it could. The rest is left to Providence."

His idea of what should make a preacher was

rather high than low. He insisted that every man called to the ministry should cultivate his powers to the utmost. He placed little stress on rhetorical effect; he deemed too much emotional appeal weakness rather than strength; he thoroughly disbelieved in having illustration usurp the place of discussion. Men who pursued studies under him with a view to the ministry found him no lenient critic. In fact what he contended for was that moral qualifications and natural gifts should count for all they are worth in deciding who are called to preach the gospel.

It will thus be seen that Dr. Wayland's work as an educator was moulded by his deep interest in the common people. He was by nature opposed to all artificial class distinctions. He disliked them in education as much as in society. "We are a *middling-interest* people," he wrote of the Baptists to Rev. Dr. Jeter, *and there is no better interest.*" From that stock he had come. The memory of his father and mother kept him true to it. No man was more free from all vulgar and cheap declamation against aristocracies. But he kept his eyes open always to the latent capacities slumbering in the common people. He framed his views of education to develop these, and at the same time to secure the higher education. He kept steadily before him the

nature of republican institutions, and wrought out all his plans of education on the principle that, whatever system obtained in the Old World, American education must consult American institutions. The interests of both are inseparably intertwined.

Dr. Wayland's work as an educator could hardly have been accomplished but for his practical experience as a teacher in the class-room. That experience deepened his interest in all the shifting phases of educational plans. It brought to him light in their discussion. He was little of a theorist. In education, as in other matters, he brought all questions to practical tests. But his success as a teacher was so marked that his experience was no unsafe guide. It may be indeed questioned whether Dr. Wayland in the class-room was not on his highest vantage ground, or, if this be too extreme a statement, whether this was not one of the points at which his real greatness could be best measured. It was with him a cardinal principle of pedagogics that the class should understand that his interest in the subject was no more vital than theirs. "Therefore," he said, "I not only allowed, but encouraged, my class to ask questions with reference to any portion of the lesson recited, or of the lecture delivered." The class-room thus immediately became a centre of mental life for

the class. The process of question and answer kindled the interest of the student in the study. To every honest question he listened with considerate patience, now and then "answering a fool according to his folly," but rarely having to put down a flippant or hopelessly dull inquirer.¹ When, on one occasion, while the class was engaged upon the Evidences of Christianity, a student raised objections to the inspiration of the Old Testament, and followed up his inquiries by saying, "For instance, take the book of Proverbs. Certainly it needed no inspiration to write that portion of the Bible. A man not inspired could have done it as well. Indeed, I have often thought that I could write as good proverbs myself." "Very well, my son" (so he addressed his pupils, in later years at least), "perhaps you can. Suppose you make the experiment. Prepare a few proverbs and read them to the class to-morrow. *The next.*" While lecturing on the subject of miracles, a member of the class, not satisfied with the refutation of Hume's argument against miracles which had been given, put his objections in this form: "What would you say, Dr. Wayland, if I stated that, as I was coming up College Street, I saw the lamp-post at the corner dance?" "I should ask you where you had been, my son,"

¹ *Memoir*, vol. i. p. 250 et seq.

was the reply. But an honest inquirer never met with rebuff of any sort. The class-room was often made a place of discipline in clearness of statement. It was that element in writing and speaking which he most highly prized, and which he most insisted on in the questions so freely allowed to be put him by his classes. He introduced a method of recitation which tended directly to foster the habit of clear thinking and ready utterance on the part of his pupils. The student was accustomed "to make out the analysis, skeleton, or plan of the lesson to be recited. He was expected to commence, and without question or answer, to proceed in his recitation as long as might be required. The next who was called on took up the passage where his predecessor left it; and thus it continued (except as there was interruption by inquiry or explanation) until the close." He placed great stress on an analytic habit of mind, and equal stress on the ability of a student to frame, while on his feet, a succinct and clear expression of thought.

More than one jurist of eminence who had been among his pupils bore testimony to the great gifts he had as a teacher. That of Hon. C. S. Bradley, who was chief justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, sums up in few words the great qualities of his teaching.

“The singular rapidity with which he seized upon the strong points of whatever subject was under discussion in the class-room, the tenacity with which he held all the disputants to the precise issue, brushing aside the rubbish of irrelevant and inapposite details and obliging the pupil to deal with the vital principles which lay at the foundation of the immediate topic under consideration, and above all, the constant habit of exact and exhaustive analysis which he counseled and even compelled the pupil to pursue, — all this was an admirable preparation for the profitable study and successful practice of the law.” Perhaps there could be no stronger tribute to a teacher’s gifts and methods than this testimony of an eminent lawyer.

Professor George P. Fisher, of Yale University, one of his most distinguished pupils, bears similar testimony.¹ “As a teacher, Dr. Wayland had preëminent gifts. If he did not, like Socrates, follow up his pupil with a perpetual cross-examination, he set before himself the same end, that of eliciting the pupil’s own mental activity. He aimed to spur him to the work of thinking for himself and of thinking soundly. He had a spice of humor in his nature, and this lent an additional zest to his terse, colloquial expressions in the class-room. The

¹ *New Englander*, vol. xv. p. 139.

truth that there is nothing new under the sun, as far as the essential traits of man are concerned, he embodied in the saying that 'human nature has very few new tricks.' On one occasion he had listened with his usual patience to the persistent questioning of a pupil as to *how* we know a certain intuitive truth or axiom. At length, his previous answers not having silenced the inquirer, he broke out with the emphatic response: 'How? by our innate *inborn gumption*.' In these amicable conflicts with his pupil, he never took unfair advantage or contended for victory. On the contrary, he seemed desirous, as he really was, to do full justice to every objection, and in alluding to writers who differed from him, to speak of them with personal respect."

Dr. Wayland carried the function of the teacher beyond the mere mental discipline of studies pursued. The preparation of his pupils for actual life measured for him his responsibility as a teacher. He brought, perhaps, less of learning to the class-room than some of his contemporaries. He was never spoken of as a learned man in philosophy, or ethics, or political economy. He had mastered the essential principles in all these departments of knowledge, and was abundantly equipped for teaching them. But his class-room was made the place where con-

stant lessons were given on the conduct of life, which, unlike Mr. Matthew Arnold, he made the whole and not a fraction of it. On this point, President Angell, of Michigan University, himself an accomplished and eminent educator, has spoken with equal force and beauty.¹ "But extraordinary as were Dr. Wayland's mental endowments, his greatness and his influence were more conspicuously moral than intellectual. His imperial will, his ardent love of the simple truth, his tender sympathy for the oppressed and the suffering, his generosity to the poor, his unconquerable love of soul liberty, his hatred of spiritual despotisms, his unflinching devotion to duty, his sublime unselfishness, his spirit of unquestioning filial obedience to God, his abiding faith in Jesus Christ and him crucified, these were the great elements of his character, the impelling forces of that splendid intellect, and the sources of his mighty power. He believed with all his soul that life is made up of duties, duties to man and to God. This idea he was ever holding up in all possible lights, and impressing on his hearers with all his power. It lent shape and coloring to all his instructions as professor, and to all his acts as president, lifted the college to a lofty plane, and gave earnestness and purpose to the lives of his pupils. . . . As his

¹ *Hours at Home*, December, 1865. Article on Dr. Wayland.

moral power predominated over his intellectual, he was more successful both in investigating and in teaching moral than intellectual philosophy. The laws of conscience, the heinousness and the fatal results of sin, the unchangeableness of the divine laws, the immutableness of right, the power of habit, the right of every man to himself and the consequent wrong of human slavery, the paramount duty of every man to develop his faculties to the utmost, and to live to the glory of God, these and kindred topics were discussed with such clearness and force, and illustrated so variously and so aptly, that we believe it to be literally true that no student, however thoughtless, ever pursued the study of moral philosophy under Dr. Wayland, without receiving positive moral impressions which remained through life. You can hardly find one of his pupils who cannot repeat memorable utterances of the teacher, which have been to him maxims throughout his career."

What, indeed, to many of his pupils seemed the crowning excellence of his teaching was the love of truth: to get at the truth upon every subject, to live in contact with the truth. He had no great reverence for elaborate systems of philosophy or of divinity. He never openly or flippantly disparaged these monumental structures of human thought. But he held himself

in entire independence of them, it were, perhaps, more truthful to say, too much aloof from them. "Young gentlemen, cherish your own conceptions," were his words to one of his classes. A friend who was about to take charge of a Bible class asked him what commentary he would recommend him to use. "Your own eyes, if you can see," was the characteristic reply.¹ Mental independence was, in his view, a cardinal virtue. He abhorred everything like slavery. Mental bondage seemed to him the direct result of too great deference to the fathers, to the school-men, to the great system-makers in philosophy and theology. His pupils felt this. He held them largely by this fearless independence of mind. Coupling with this freedom from all partisanship his simple, eager seeking for the truth, we see how it could not be otherwise than that he should inspire his pupils with the same independence of mind. When he did not, it was because some of them were hopelessly environed by partisan associations, or made with minds too narrow to take in more than adhesion to a party or a sect.

It was characteristic of Dr. Wayland as an educator, that he believed it essential to the highest and most enduring efficiency of a college presidency that the president should be himself

¹ *Hours at Home*, vol. ii. p. 193.

a teacher, and thus come into direct contact with the intellectual life of the college. It is certainly true that "the academic spirit may and should be in living sympathy with the struggles which are going forward on the public arena. . . . The true academic spirit does not live in the air. It does not abide in a region aloof from the concerns of mankind in the day that now is."¹ Like President Woolsey, in regard to whose academic career these words were written, Dr. Wayland had labored steadily and successfully to make the academic spirit in his college in the best sense a *public* spirit. But he held just as firmly the position that, as the head of a college or university, he must come into direct relations with students as a teacher; that the office of president could not be sunk in merely executive administration; that all the dignity and sacred responsibility of the official robe should invest the higher office and functions of the *teacher*; that so only could the academic spirit be fully developed and maintained. In these views, and as an illustrious example of them, he was in close accord with President Woolsey.² He might possibly have conceded

¹ Article on President Woolsey by Professor George P. Fisher, in the *Century Magazine*, vol. ii., New Series, p. 217.

² *Vide* Professor Fisher's article in *Century Magazine*, *passim*.

that there were exigencies in the history of collegiate institutions, when the president could best serve their interests by exalting the mere executive and becoming less the intellectual head. But he would certainly have maintained that, if the office of president were, from any undue reliance on mere executive ability, permanently divorced from the office of teacher, the result in the long run and on the broad scale would be not only decline in the high position of dignity and influence which seem essential to the office, but there would be decline also in the academic spirit of the institution.

CHAPTER VII.

DR. WAYLAND AS AN AUTHOR.

THE authorship of Dr. Wayland, in any extended sense, began with the publication of his "Moral Science," in 1835. It was constructed designedly as a text-book. Ordinarily text-books, as fruits of authorship, would demand slight notice. They are made, serve a period of usefulness longer or shorter, and are superseded by other and later studies of the subject. Two, however, of Dr. Wayland's text-books cannot be so summarily dismissed. His "Moral Science" has had a history, unique in that of text-books, not only nor mainly in its wide and prolonged use, but in the educational work it accomplished, a work, as we shall see, affecting most deeply opinion on a great national question.

The book itself, like all books of worth, was a growth of years. In the Preface of the first edition its history is thus given: "When it became my duty to instruct in Moral Philosophy, in Brown University, the text-book in use was the work of Dr. Paley. From many of his princi-

ples I found myself compelled to dissent, and at first I contented myself with stating to my classes my objections to the author, and offering my views in the form of familiar conversations upon several of the topics which he discusses.

“These views, for my own convenience, I soon committed to paper and delivered in the form of lectures. In a few years these lectures had become so far extended that to my surprise, they contained by themselves the elements of a different system from that of the text-book which I was teaching. To avoid the inconvenience of teaching two different systems, I undertook to reduce them to order, and to make such additions as would render the work in some measure complete within itself. I thus relinquished the work of Dr. Paley, and for some time have been in the habit of instructing by lectures. The success of the attempt exceeded my expectations, and encouraged me to hope that the publication of what I had delivered to my classes might in some small degree facilitate the study of Moral Science.” [He expressly acknowledged his obligation to Bishop Butler, especially on the subject of Conscience,] the study of whose sermons on Human Nature had first turned his attention to the subject. How deeply he felt the importance of the work he was undertaking is seen from the notice of it in his diary, December 22, 1833. ✓

“ I have thought of publishing a work on moral philosophy.

“ Direct me, O thou all-wise and Pure Spirit. Let me not do it unless it be for thy glory and the good of men. If I should do it, may it all be true so far as human knowledge at present extends. Enlighten, guide, and teach me so that I may write something which shall show thy justice now more clearly than heretofore, and the necessity and excellency of the plan of salvation by Christ Jesus, the blessed Redeemer. All which I ask through his merits alone. Amen.”

And on June 6, 1835, after the publication of his “Moral Science,” the diary records another prayer, consecrating it to the “cause of truth, of peace, and of righteousness.” The work was published in May, 1835. Its success is a matter of history. Jurists like Chancellor Kent gave it their strongest commendation. It was republished in England and Scotland. It was destined to service on missionary fields. Translated into Hawaiian, a missionary wrote him from Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, “I am now going through it with a class of fifty adults, including the governor of the island of Oahu and his principal magistrates. The subject of Conscience is new to them and deeply interesting. They have no word for it in their language, but they readily perceive that there is such a faculty, and they are

delighted with the discovery." It was translated also into Armenian by Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, who wrote the author that "he had thus become a co-laborer in the great work of regenerating the East." The missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Union made a similar version in Modern Greek, and it appears that a translation in the Nestorian language was made by the missionaries among the Nestorians. There was abundant reason for such a success. The work supplanted Paley, and deservedly so on more grounds than one. The author calls it *Moral Science*, and whatever may be said now of some of its ethical positions, and however it may have been superseded by later teachings, it merits this claim to scientific treatment, eminently so as compared with Paley's book. Its division of the subject into the two great departments of theoretical ethics and practical ethics, its lengthened discussion of foundation principles in the opening chapters, the orderly development of the whole, its definitions, its concise discussions, all combine to make its excellence as a *Moral Science*. (Among treatises in this country, it may be justly regarded as the pioneer in scientific treatment of ethical principles and applications.)

It was a still greater service rendered by the publication of his "*Moral Science*" that it supplanted Paley's unsound system of ethics by an

essentially sound one. ✓ Paley's "Moral Philosophy" was then in general use as a text-book on ethics. His well-known definition of virtue ¹ and its accompanying exposition; his subsequent statements making a utilitarian basis for right,² were repudiated by Dr. Wayland, and the doctrine that "the moral quality of an action resides in the intention" was substituted for Paley's theory. Dr. Wayland, like Dr. Paley, makes the ultimate foundation of virtue to be the will of God, a view not held by later writers. In fact, it was his discussion of *practical* ethics which was most to be praised. It has been claimed for Dr. Paley that his form of the utilitarian theory has been misapprehended. Dr. James Martineau has endeavored to remove this misapprehension in his "Types of Ethical Theory,"³ and a writer

¹ "Virtue is the doing good to mankind in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness. According to which definition, 'the good of mankind' is the subject, the 'will of God' the rule, and 'everlasting happiness' the motive of human virtue." — Paley's *Moral Philosophy*, Book I., Chapter VIII.

² "So the actions are to be estimated by their tendency? Whatever is expedient is right. It is the utility of any moral rule alone which constitutes the obligation of it;" and in reference to certain bad actions apparently accomplishing useful ends, "These actions after all are not useful, and for that reason, and that alone, are not right." — *Moral Philosophy*, Book II., Chapter VI.

³ "By Paley, for example, this feature (*i. e.* the conduciveness of virtue to the happiness of men) is taken not as in itself con-

in the "Quarterly Review" ¹ has explained away Paley's statements that "it is the utility of any moral rule alone which constitutes the obligation of it," as "the inadvertent expressions of a man enamored of his system." However this may be, it is plain that Dr. Wayland's "Moral Science," as a system of Christian Ethics, rested on a sounder and more logical basis, and supplanting Paley's, as it seems to have done in many of our educational institutions, it rendered an inestimable service to the cause of public and private morality.

The "Moral Science" rendered another, and in its possible results an equally great, service to public morals. When the author came to treat the topic of "personal liberty" ² he faced squarely the subject of American slavery. After having discussed the general question, and having reached the conclusion that "the precepts of the gospel in no manner countenance, but are directly opposed to, the institution of domestic slavery," ³ he asks the question, "What is the duty of masters and slaves under a condition of society in which slavery now exists?" and gives

stituting right, but as the mark, when Revelation is silent, the external index of the Will of God." — *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. ii. p. 218.

¹ *Quar. Rev.*, vol. ³⁸xxxviii. p. 320.

² *Moral Science*, p. 200.

³ *Ibid.* p. 214.

the following answer: "If the system be wrong, as we have endeavored to show, if it be at variance with our duty both to God and to men, it must be abandoned. If it be asked, When? I ask again, When shall a man begin to cease doing wrong? Is not the answer always, Immediately?"¹ He then considers the objection that "immediate abolition" would be the greatest possible injury to the slaves themselves, and meets it by assuming for the sake of the argument that this is the case: —

1. "The situation of the slaves, in which this obstacle to their emancipation exists, is not by their *own act*, but by the act of their masters; and, therefore, the *masters are bound to remove it*."

2. Assuming that the slaves must be held in bondage until the object be accomplished, then "it may be the duty of the master to hold the slave; not, however, *on the ground of right over him*, but of *obligation to him*, and of obligation *to him* for the *purpose of accomplishing a particular and specified good*."² And the whole discussion ends with the following impressive and, in one sentence, *prophetic* words: "Hence, if any one will reflect on these facts, and remember the moral law of the Creator, and the terrible sanctions by which his laws are sustained, and

¹ *Moral Science*, p. 214.

² *Ibid.* p. 215.

also the provision which, in the gospel of reconciliation, He has made for removing this evil after it has been once established, he must, I think, be convinced of the imperative obligation which rests upon him to remove it without the delay of a moment. The Judge of the whole earth will do justice. He hears the cry of the oppressed, and He will in the end terribly vindicate right.”¹

These views were, ^{on slavery} it must be remembered, put forth in 1835. They were in a text-book, which went at once into very wide circulation. The Northern pulpit, with few exceptions, was then silent on the subject of slavery. The press was not discussing the question in its political relations to any great extent. Dr. Wayland's "Moral Science" educated the generation which came to its manhood in the beginning of the great anti-slavery struggle. It was a prime agent in the formation of that Northern anti-slavery sentiment which, twenty-five years later, was driven to its final and triumphant appeal to the arbitrament of bloody war. What could have been more potent in forming a right public sentiment, than a text-book teaching such doctrines of personal liberty, which in both editions, abridged and unabridged, had reached in the year 1868 a circulation of one hundred and thir-

¹ *Moral Science*, p. 216.

ty-seven thousand copies?/ The experience of the nation in the necessary appeal to arms for the preservation of the national life caused Dr. Wayland to modify some of his opinions as to the lawfulness of war. He was at the outset as pronounced in his condemnation of war as of slavery. Hon. E. L. Pierce has called attention to this in his "Life of Charles Sumner."¹

Of all the subjects which Dr. Wayland taught during his presidency, Ethics, Political Economy, Intellectual Philosophy, and the Evidences of Christianity, the first was that with which he was best fitted to deal. It was thoroughly congenial to him. The structure of his mind was shown in his ready grasp of moral distinctions and his skillful application of them to the affairs of life. Not only was he best fitted to

¹ "The change of opinion among divines and moralists is well shown by comparing the editions of Wayland's *Moral Science*. In all but the last there is a chapter earnestly setting forth the moral and religious argument against war, and coming to the conclusion that 'hence it would seem that all wars are contrary to the revealed will of God, and that the individual has no right to commit to society, nor society to commit to government, the power to declare war.' But in the last edition, published in 1865, just after the suppression of the Rebellion, and completed one month preceding his death, the author substituted a much briefer discussion of the question, and maintained, contrary to the view his treatise had taught for thirty years, the duty, in extreme cases, of national aggression to repel force by force." — Pierce's *Life of Sumner*, vol. ii. p. 380, *note*.

expound practical ethics, but, as a consequence, it was in this field that he secured so wonderful a hold on his pupils. Those hours in the Moral Science class-room were never and could be never forgotten. His students felt the imperial power of his sturdy moral nature reënforcing the solid, clear conclusions of his reasoning, and by common consent regarded "Moral Science," as taught by him, the crowning and distinguishing feature of the college course. Explanation of this might be readily found in the text-book itself. As one turns its pages and reads its chapters even now, there is a distinct if undefinable impression of deep sincerity and massive strength in all its sentences. Superseded doubtless it may and will be. As a text-book, it is open to criticism. But it is living yet, and doing still its work of educating the moral sense of many an American youth.

There is evidence too that it was read by a public outside college or academy walls. It touched on and handled questions which were in the air of the time. It was singularly free from scholastic subtleties. It was the "common-sense" philosophy applied to ethics, on that account unsatisfactory to some, but on that very account liked by the common understanding. An instance illustrating this is given in the following letter from Dr. A. A. Livermore : —

WILTON, N. H., *August 12, 1890.*

DEAR SIR, — Yours received. In reply I would say that the incident to which you refer is a fact, which I have heard related by the person himself.

It was Rev. Mordecai De Lange, a Jew, who was converted to Christianity by the perusal of Dr. Wayland's "Moral Science." He was a young man, resident in St. Louis, Mo., engaged in business. One day at his boarding-house, while waiting dinner, he casually took up this book, and read a chapter on Conscience, and it awakened a train of thought which led him to renounce Judaism, and to accept the gospel of Christ. I forget the precise mental process through which his mind passed in arriving at this conclusion, suffice it to say, Wayland's "Moral Science" furnished the seed germ.

Subsequently, Mr. De Lange became a Unitarian under the preaching of Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot of St. Louis, and he became also a minister. He was first settled as a minister at large in Dr. Eliot's church, was then chaplain of the Missouri State Prison, afterwards the pastor of the Unitarian church in Pittsburgh, Pa., and when he died, some years ago, he was custodian of the Meadville, Pa., Theological School.

Yours truly,

A. A. LIVERMORE.

In 1837, two years after the publication of his "Moral Science," his "Elements of Political Economy" was issued. Say's "Political Economy" had been published in this country with notes by C. C. Biddle in 1824. The manuals of Cooper and Phillips had appeared in 1826 or 1828; Say's "New Principles of Political Economy" in 1834. Besides these there were the well-known and standard treatises of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, Mill, and Whately. It was the aim of Dr. Wayland to simplify the science. He said in the preface that "the works on this subject in general use, while they presented its doctrines truly, did not present them in such order as would be most likely to render them serviceable either to the general reader or to the practical merchant." Struck by the simplicity of the principles of this science, the extent of its generalizations, and the readiness with which its facts seemed capable of being brought into natural and methodical arrangement, he constructed his work so as to present the subject in the plainest manner possible. It is thus divested of all show of learning and all pretense to profoundly philosophical treatment. In a word, it is a book for laymen and for beginners. This is all it aimed to be. How well it met this want is seen from the fact that after fifty years have passed it is still in use.

Twenty years ago it had reached a circulation of fifty thousand copies for the larger treatise, and for the abridgment, twelve thousand. Dr. Wayland's interest in this study was far deeper than a merely professional one. In his view it affected the higher interests of the people. It crossed the boundary which separates the material from the moral welfare of society. In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Anderson, Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, he expressed the opinion that "scarcely anything would be more calculated to arouse and stimulate the minds of persons emerging from barbarism than the study of the elements of this science." A passion for human welfare was a leading characteristic in his moral nature, and hence he wrote with the conviction that the two subjects of Moral Science and Political Economy were cognate, capable of clear division each from the other, but that the fundamental principles of the one were involved in the principles of the other. In the publication of his "Political Economy" we have also an illustration of a marked trait in the man. He had the courage of his opinions. In a community, the interests of which were bound up in manufactures, he was the outspoken advocate of Free Trade. And in the opinion of not a few, had Dr. Wayland given time to full research on the subject instead of

contenting himself with a rudimental treatise, he would have proved himself a leading authority on questions of Political Economy.

In the spring of 1838, he published his "Limitations of Human Responsibility," a small volume of two hundred pages, described in his dedication to Dr. Daniel Sharp as a "little essay." Nothing that he ever wrote was the subject of more animadversion at home and abroad. From some of its positions he himself at a later date receded. It was called forth by what he considered were wrong methods of conducting reforms desirable in themselves. The two reforms then rising into prominence and rapidly becoming "burning questions" were Temperance and Antislavery. No man held more stoutly, or pushed to closer application, the doctrine of individual responsibility than did he. To this position he arrived in great part by his Baptist training, but in great part also by his own thinking. It seemed to him that a just view of individual responsibility was endangered on the one hand by merging the moral individualism in voluntary association, and on the other by pressing individual responsibility beyond its proper ethical limits. Hence the title of the little treatise, "*Limitations of Human Responsibility.*" He was well aware that no subject in the wide field of casuistry offered more dif-

difficulties in the way of clear exposition, and he began his discussion by considering in the opening chapters the nature of the subject, and by defining the limits of *individual* responsibility. He held in general that men are not responsible for the accomplishment of any good if it be out of their power, whether it be beyond the limit of ability they possess, or whether it requires a kind of ability not at their command. He maintained also that, supposing the accomplishment of any good be within the power, it does not follow by necessity that this simple fact carries with it a responsibility for its performance. He then enumerates and discusses five different limitations of individual responsibility. He expressly disclaims having enumerated all the cases in which our responsibility for the performance of general duties is limited, and then proceeds to apply the principles laid down, *to such cases as persecution for religious opinions, the propagation of truth, voluntary associations, ecclesiastical associations, official responsibility, and finally the slavery question.* His discussion of the subject of Voluntary Associations brought out his views of temperance pledges. He questioned their general utility as then urged by temperance reformers, not only on the most stringent grounds of moral obligations, but often in a spirit of intolerance and uncharitable-

ness.¹ He combated the right of churches to lay down tests for church membership not prescribed in the New Testament. In a word, he deprecated the tendency to sink the individual in a corporate conscience of any sort.

In his discussion of "Official Responsibility" he announced with clearness and emphasis all the underlying principles of modern civil service reform. He lifted a solemn and pregnant warning against the demoralizing effect which must be produced in any community where elections are so frequent, by holding up before voters the motives of sordid self-interest in the place of the proper motives which should influence every citizen. The standard of public virtue is thus depressed, and a base subserviency to popular clamor is engendered, of which a free people would do well to be deeply ashamed.

His treatment of the slavery question, in the closing section of the book, was a surprise and a disappointment to the best antislavery sentiment of the North. He took the ground that Congress had the right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia only when, first, the Southern States agree to its abolition, or, secondly, whenever Maryland and Virginia, or either of them, shall abolish it in their own domain.

This would give the Southern States the con-

¹ Section VI. pp. 104-107

trolling power in the decision of the question. He argued for this view from the constitutional rights of the Southern States. Thus quoting the Constitution, he said: "This instrument has not merely a *positive*, it has also a *negative* power. It not only *grants* certain powers, but it expressly declares that those not enumerated are *not granted*. Thus, it enacts that all 'The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, *are reserved* to the States, respectively, or to the people.' Now, the abolition of slavery being a power *not* conferred, it is, by this article, expressly *withheld*. Whatever power we may therefore have over slavery, as *citizens of the several States*, within our own limits, respectively, we have none, as *citizens of the United States*. The majority of the people in the United States have, in this respect, no power over the minority; for the minority has never conceded to them this power. Should all the States in the Union but one, and that one the very smallest, abolish slavery, should the majority of one hundred to one of the people of the United States be in favor of its abolition, still it would not alter the case. That one State would be as free to abolish it or not to abolish it, as it is now. This is a question which has never been submitted to the majority of the citizens of these

United States, and therefore the citizens of the United States, as citizens, have nothing to do with it."

His position on the question of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia was not long held by him. He had mistaken the temper of the South. The tone was rapidly changing from that of apology to that of aggression. He came in a few years to see that the propagandists of slavery as an institution, who subsequently materialized their plans in the annexation of Texas, far outnumbered a small body of excellent Southern people who pleaded for its toleration and talked of gradual emancipation.¹ This change of view is alluded to in a letter from Charles Sumner to Dr. Channing,² dated June 23, 1842.

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"I was in Providence yesterday, where I saw President Wayland. He wished me to say to you that he had read both parts³ with great pleasure, and that he agreed with you entirely. His views on slavery, and with regard to the South, have materially changed lately."

In the autumn of 1852, at the request of the

¹ Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, vol. i. pp. 189-207.

² Pierce's *Life of Sumner*, vol. ii. p. 211.

³ Alluding to Dr. Channing's pamphlet on the *Duty of the Free States*.

Executive Committee of the Baptist Missionary Union, and in accordance with the wishes of Mrs. Emily C. Judson, Dr. Wayland undertook the biography of Dr. Adoniram Judson. It was altogether fitting that he, the foremost of Baptist scholars and divines in America, should write the life of the foremost American Baptist missionary. From the date of his sermon on the "Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise," the subject of foreign missions had occupied his mind. He was well versed in their progress, had thought long and deeply on their true method. In the career of Dr. Judson he had cherished a special interest. The celebrated missionary on the visit to America in 1845 had been his guest, and they had communed freely concerning the great subject of missions.

He undertook the work from the highest motive, that of service to the common Master, but with a motive of generosity also, for he presented the copyright to Dr. Judson's family, after paying all the incidental expenses of preparing the book. Grave difficulties beset him at the outset, thus stated in the Preface: "From peculiar views of duty, Dr. Judson, had caused to be destroyed all his early letters written to his family, together with all his papers of a personal character. Mrs. Ann H. Judson, from prudential reasons, during their captivity in Ava, de-

stroyed all his letters in her possession. Manuscripts were also consumed by the burning of Mr. Stevens's house in Maulmain. Dr. Judson's correspondence with Dr. Stoughton perished by the shipwreck of a vessel. . . . Last of all, his letters to his missionary brethren in Burmah were lost by the foundering of the ship which was conveying them to this country." The work had therefore to be constructed mainly from Dr. Judson's official correspondence and from the reminiscences of Mrs. Judson. Its preparation occupied all his spare time for most of the year 1852-3. When it was finished he said of it, "I feel relieved of a pressure that has not left me since I commenced it. I think it will be useful and interesting. Indeed I feel a more than usual confidence in it. Mrs. Judson thinks it truthful. If it should prove otherwise than useful I shall regret it, for it has taken a year of my time when years begin to grow few. . . . I presume it will be liked and disliked, as is the fate of most that I have written. . . . The fact has been, that when I got hold of this work, and the work got hold of me, I could not leave it without feeling that I was wasting time."

Its plan of construction was simple, if not by choice, from the necessity of the case in the loss of materials. The life is unfolded through letters, through the journals of Dr. Judson and

others, the links of connection being supplied by the biographer, and such commentary also as is needed to make the whole clear. The merit of the work consists therefore largely in the selection, digestion, and arrangement of the various sources of information.

In consequence of this, the part contributed by Dr. Wayland's own pen bears a comparatively small proportion to the whole. It could hardly be claimed for Dr. Wayland that he had special qualifications for such writing. His style was lacking in the lighter and more vivacious qualities which such biographies require. He had never cultivated this vein. He could be graphic, as passages in his sermons show. But his pen had been almost wholly exercised in a grave, sententious, and weighty expression of thought. The biography has, however, the cardinal merit of candor and impartiality throughout. On all points where Dr. Judson's course had been called in question,¹ the author meets the issue fairly, and his conclusions are judicial in their tone. He had the deepest veneration for Dr. Judson's character, and also sympathy with his methods. The two men were remarkably alike in their mental and moral build. But it is evi-

¹ His relations with the American Board, *Memoir of Dr. Judson*, vol. i. p. 81; his alleged austerities of Christian life, *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 538.

dent that, as a biographer, the author meant to make judicial fairness the dominant element in his estimate. In the sketch he gives of Buddhism¹ these qualities are very distinctly traceable. When the biography appeared, the criticism was made² that he had colored the views of Dr. Judson with his own, regarding the true method of conducting missions. Such opinions as, opposition to any secular education as a form of missionary effort,³ and, opposition to large missionary stations,⁴ may be instanced. An examination of all the passages in the biography which bear on the question will show that their statements are confirmed, either by direct quotation from Dr. Judson's writings, or by the citation of well-known facts. That the two men agreed perfectly in their views is clear; that the biographer was glad to confirm his own views by the authority of so distinguished a missionary is true. As to the opinions themselves, they are certainly open to question. But such a criticism on the biographer is not warranted. The merits of the memoir lie largely in the great simplicity of its structure. Any one familiar with the facts of Dr. Judson's career is aware that in parts it is susceptible of the highest rhetorical

¹ *Memoir of Dr. Judson*, vol. i. pp. 138-153.

² *Memoir of Wayland*, vol. ii. p. 120.

³ *Memoir of Dr. Judson*, vol. i. p. 209.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 961.

presentation. In all the prison literature of the world, nothing exceeds in tragic interest the story of that imprisonment at Ava and Oung-Pen-La. Possibly the simplicity of its narrative as told by Dr. Wayland may be justified on the highest grounds of literary art. The more rhetorical treatment may be left for lives in which the element of moral grandeur is not so predominating.

For a considerable time Dr. Wayland did not again enter into the field of authorship. His college duties and numerous calls for addresses on public occasions absorbed his time. In 1854 he published his text-book on "Intellectual Philosophy." It was constructed on the same plan with his earlier efforts in the department of moral science and political economy. "I have not entered," he says in his Preface, "upon the discussion of many of the topics which have called into exercise the acumen of the ablest metaphysicians. Intended to serve the purposes of a text-book, it was necessary that the volume should be compressed within a compass adapted to the time usually allotted to the study of this science in the colleges of our country. I have therefore attempted to present and illustrate the important truths in intellectual philosophy, rather than the inferences which may be drawn from them, or the doctrines which they may

presuppose." He follows in the main the older Scotch school of mental philosophy as represented in Reid and Stewart. The book did not, however, gain the position readily accorded his earlier works. For this, various reasons may be assigned. It seemed at first view to have the advantage over these, of longer preparation, and familiarity with more recent discussions. But it can hardly be claimed for Dr. Wayland that he had a metaphysical mind. He was far more capable of broad generalizations than of the subtle distinctions which are essential to the pursuit of mental science. His bent was stronger toward a sound and discriminating study of practical ethics than toward the involved problems of metaphysics or psychology. In a letter to Hon. Ellis Lewis, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, he once said: "The only position the world could offer me which I have thought I should like is that of a judge of a court whose decisions involved grave questions of right."

Nor had he made himself acquainted with the results of German studies on this subject. It could hardly be, also, that any entirely adequate text-book could be written on mental philosophy which did not presuppose an acquaintance, more or less exact, with the history of philosophy. While he entirely disclaims all attempt to cover

these fields, and restricts himself to the "important truths in intellectual philosophy," the interest for teachers, and for students also, lies to a great extent in this debatable territory. Admitting all the claims of his "Intellectual Philosophy" to excellence in lucid statements and clear discussions, it certainly did not equal as a text-book either the "Moral Science" or the "Political Economy."¹

It is worthy of note that in his "Intellectual Philosophy" he raised the question as to whether mathematics did not hold too great prominence in the ordinary college curriculum. He seems in this to have shared to a degree the opinions of Sir William Hamilton as to its disciplinary value. His position is much more carefully guarded, is indeed far less sweeping.² His objections to the study are rather to its extent and method, than of an intrinsic nature. The position he had taken as to elective studies really involved this view of mathematics. If the classics

¹ The phenomenal success of Dr. Wayland's text-books is seen in the statement of the publishers that up to 1890 "probably not less than two hundred thousand copies have been put forth."

² "If we consult reason, experience, and the common testimony of ancient and modern times, none of our intellectual studies tend to cultivate a small number of the faculties, in a more partial or feeble manner, than mathematics." See Sir William Hamilton's *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature*, p. 268.

are to be dropped by those who have no taste for them, why not mathematics on the same grounds? In support of his view he certainly could appeal to the fact that the proportion of minds who have no special aptitude for mathematical study is assuredly as large as that of minds without aptitude for the study of the classics.

The volume entitled "Principles and Practices of Baptists," published in 1856, is a collection of short papers prepared by Dr. Wayland for a religious weekly, the "Examiner," the oldest Baptist weekly in America. As at first projected, these papers were to be a series of eight or ten.

The work grew on his hands until the articles ran through a year. The numbers as they appeared from week to week elicited growing interest. They were short, pithy, able presentations of the topics treated. The discussions touched on issues so practical, and treated of matters so vital to the welfare, not only of the denomination of Baptists, but of a wider ecclesiastical circle, besides maintaining firmly the distinctive Baptist tenets, that he was led to collect and issue them in the volume with the title named above. "The main object of the author," he states in his Preface, "has been to present a short popular view of the distinctive

belief of the Baptist denomination, and to urge upon his brethren a practice in harmony with their professions." The cardinal principles of Baptists in regard to Confessions of Faith are admirably stated in the opening paper. "Our rule of faith and practice is the New Testament." "We believe in the fullest sense in the independence of every individual church of Christ." These are the seminal principles of the denomination, and they have undoubtedly led to an exaltation of the Scriptures as well as an exegetical study of them, which is to the lasting honor of the Baptist churches. They were principles rooted in the soul of Dr. Wayland, not only by heredity and early training, but by long matured thinking on the subject. In the two following chapters, he unfolds the views of Baptists on the distinctive evangelical doctrines of the Trinity, Human Depravity, Atonement, and Regeneration. No other doctrines are discussed. He shows, however, that on these points, Baptists have always held what are "emphatically the doctrines of the Reformation." His discussion then turns to the ministry, and is a strong lucid presentation of the views of the denomination as to its province, its methods, and its qualifications. Eleven chapters are occupied in unfolding what he deemed the New Testament views on the subject of preaching. Then he takes up what are com-

monly regarded as the more distinctive tenets of the Baptist churches, Baptism, Mode of Admission to the Ministry by the church, Hereditary Membership at variance with the idea of the spirituality of the church, the Right of Private Judgment, the Separation of Church from the State, Church Architecture, Church Music, Worship, Church Discipline, Independence of the churches, returning at last to the discussion of the ministry and the structure of sermons. There are in all fifty-two of these papers, the main topics of which are indicated above. Dr. Wayland attempted no exhaustive discussion of many points. His aim was different. But the articles are, for their purpose, models of clear, succinct statements, without a vestige of controversial character in them. They are of value as showing how dear to him were the tenets of his church, how vital he deemed them to be to the upbuilding of the kingdom of God. He was wont to call himself an "old-fashioned Baptist." He possibly was regarded by some as too severe in his ideas on church music and architecture and preaching. His views on these topics were called in question as not meeting the demands of a growing class of worshipers, who think they need more ornate surroundings and greater attraction, in the form of quartette choirs. The reply was that other denominations provide these,

and in harmony with their liturgical methods. Baptist principles demand the utmost simplicity. Baptist history shows that the denomination has grown, not by conforming to the more ornate methods, but by strict and strenuous adhesion to the oldtime simplicity. He could be "modern" and "progressive," in matters where new light was needed, as in plans of education. But he held to the oldtime practices of the Baptist churches, because in his judgment they squared with the fixed principles of the New Testament. And in his stout and loyal assertion of the New Testament as the only rule of faith and practice, of the separation of the church from the state, of the right of private judgment, the candor and earnestness of his statements will command the highest respect. In fact, they constitute a noble tribute to the Baptist churches, one of the largest denominations in our country, and whose work in its christianization has been from the beginning one of depth and power. He dwelt at so great length on the subject of the Christian Ministry¹ because his thoughts were, in the latter part of his life, absorbed largely by this question. The future of the church of Christ in his view depended on the character of its ministry, and he thought tendencies were apparent in all the churches which threatened to destroy

¹ More than half the articles treat of this subject.

the efficiency of preaching. These tendencies were directly opposed to the earlier Baptist views, and he brought out this divergence from Baptist principles with solemn earnestness. The position taken by him was that an "educated ministry," meaning by this a ministry trained in colleges and theological seminaries, was not of necessity the ministry recognized in the New Testament nor sanctioned by the practices of the Baptist Church. "It would seem," he says, "from these passages (1 Tim. iii 2-7; Titus i. 6-9) that any disciple of Christ of blameless manners and pure character, meek, forbearing, temperate, sober, just, holy, thoroughly attached to the doctrines of the Gospel, having a natural gift for teaching, and having had some experience in the Christian life, not a novice, has the qualifications for the ministry which the New Testament requires. These are found to be precisely the qualifications demanded in the missionary field, and the men who possess them are the men found to be preëminently useful." He further argues that by adherence to this rule, the ministry would be increased both in numbers and efficiency. For ten years at least, the subject of the Christian ministry had pressed upon his soul. It was the theme of correspondence with such divines as Dr. James W. Alexander, of New York, and Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio.

The brief pastorate he held over the First Baptist Church in 1857-58 only intensified convictions which had been gathering force for years. They had been spoken in part at Rochester, New York, in the sermon on the "Apostolic Ministry." They had been more fully uttered in the "Notes on the Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches." But he felt that the subject needed fuller discussion. Hence the little volume "Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel," published in 1863. It made a stir on its publication. Nothing he ever wrote, save the "Limitations of Human Responsibility," was so sharply criticised. In it he compares the ministry of the present with that of the past, not always to the advantage of the former. He treats of a "call" to the ministry, and lays great stress on the idea of the Divine call. He devotes a chapter to the question, "Is the ministry a profession?" and finds lurking in the phraseology "profession of the ministry" a dangerous tendency. The remainder of the volume unfolds the true marks and aims of a Christian ministry. It was thought and charged that he was unduly severe in his criticisms; that he did not do justice to the ministry as it really was; that a morbid tone characterized the book. Some of its views are undoubtedly extreme, for example his objections to the use of written sermons.

Sometimes he reasons as if manifest exceptions were the rule, as when he says "the same paper has not very unfrequently been put to triple duty. It first appears as a sermon, then as a platform address, or as a lecture before some literary society, then as an article for a popular magazine." It is difficult to account for the severity of criticism which the book called forth. If the utterances of the author were wounds, they were the faithful wounds of a friend. The ideal he presents is doubtless a very high one. It is exacting in many respects on the side of ministerial work and ministerial example. The motive which prompted the volume and which shaped it as a whole, was no unkind criticism, but rather a desire to help toward higher efficiency in the sacred calling. That it met a cordial response from eminent laymen and many clergymen is well known.

In general it may be said of Dr. Wayland's authorship that it was controlled by a dominant aim to secure practical results. Toward the end of his "Political Economy," he has a short section "On consumption for the gratification of desire," which seems to be almost purely an ethical discussion. Indeed, one charm which the study of Political Economy had for him was his view that in some of its bearings it was closely related to Moral Science. His books never

wandered into any region of speculation. They show no wide reading, never suggest *learned* authorship. In fact, he had read more widely than his works would show. But they one and all move with practical purpose to a practical end. Their direct, lucid, serious style is fitted to this end, and to reach it seems to have been his only ambition in the field of authorship.

CHAPTER VIII.

DR. WAYLAND AS A PREACHER.

THE career of Dr. Wayland as a preacher naturally divides into three periods. The first of these is that of the Boston pastorate, in which he published a volume entitled "Occasional Discourses," containing his noted sermons on the "Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise" and on the "Duties of an American Citizen."

The second period is that of his presidency, when he assumed the office of college preacher, and in the course of which appeared the volume called "University Sermons," delivered in the chapel of Brown University, afterwards republished under the title "Salvation by Christ." The third period is that subsequent to his resignation of the presidency, his temporary pastorate of the First Baptist Church, Providence. The sermons which represent it were published in 1858, under the title "Sermons to the Churches." Each of these volumes embodied important and differing characteristics of his preaching. Certain features are common to all.

Together they form a striking series, and a complete view of Dr. Wayland's pulpit power is only gained as all are studied in the order of their production.

What Dr. Wayland was in the ordinary parish sermons of the first pastorate in Boston, we have now little means of knowing. He in later years was a severe critic upon his earlier preaching. He condemned it as more an intellectual than a moral exercise. He bewailed his mistake of having used written sermons rather than extempore discourse. His people, however, and he had hearers who would have been keenly sensitive to ambitious display in the pulpit, never expressed any opinions adverse to the spiritual tone of his preaching. And most persons who heard him would have greatly preferred seeing the preacher with manuscript before him. In his first sermon to the people, he laid down the principles which were to guide him in his preaching.

1. He must deliver to his people, without addition or retrenchment, the truths contained in the Holy Word.

2. He must deliver each distinct truth to those for whom his Master has designed it.

3. He must deliver the truth in such manner as his Master has directed.

The only noteworthy thing here is, that this

strictly Biblical idea of preaching was never forgotten nor forsaken by him. There is little or no trace of formal structure or homiletical rules in his sermons. They are all shaped by the Scriptural idea. If he found truths in the Bible which were in apparent conflict, he never attempted anything like a reconciliation of them. Thus in the first sermon to his Boston people, after speaking of some "obscurities connected with the truths of God's Word," he adds: —

"Here it may be asked, Is not God consistent with Himself? and if we find one doctrine clearly revealed and another which we cannot reconcile with it, is it not evident that the one or the other must be taken with some limitations, and in our preaching are we not bound to limit it? We answer, God is doubtless consistent with Himself, but He has never appointed us judges of his consistency; and until He shall thus appoint us, it were certainly modest in us to decline the office. We answer again, If two such doctrines occur — and they may doubtless occur — the duty of the minister is to preach them both, fully and clearly, as they are revealed in the Scriptures. He has nothing to do with their consistency. If his hearers object on this account, the controversy is between God and their own souls, and there must the minister of Christ leave it."

This is common sense, but it has been too uncommon in the pulpit. The day has not yet passed when preachers think they must "reconcile" St. Paul and St. James, or science with religion. This however is not the "ministry of reconciliation" in the Pauline sense. Dr. Wayland never attempted it. He has no theory of the atonement. Nothing like a theological system is discernible in his sermons. What he found in the Bible that he preached, and let the hearer reconcile the truth of free agency with that of Divine control by his own common sense. It was his "occasional" sermons — such as the *Missionary Discourse*, the two sermons on the "Duties of an American Citizen" with that on the "Death of the Ex-President" — which attracted notice to him as a preacher. Dr. Wayland says that in consequence of the reputation these discourses gave him he "was led to think that plain, simple, unadorned address, though suitable to other occasions, would not be suitable for the pulpit." His criticism on himself is hardly borne out by the specimens of his preaching given in his later volume of *University Sermons*. They are remarkable and commendable for their simplicity of structure and style. His first volume, "*Occasional Discourses*," brings out his power as a preacher on such themes. These must of necessity be more elaborate, more

finished, than the ordinary ministrations of the pulpit. He always brought to their composition his fullest powers, and rose easily to the demands of the occasion. In his own community, if the death of an eminent citizen and public benefactor¹ were to be commemorated, if a great public crisis needed notice,² if any benevolent movement required public support,³ the instinct was to turn to him for the needed utterances. His services were sought in a far wider field, and his "occasional" sermons were always on a high level. His power was unabated by years. The sermon on the "Apostolic Ministry" at Rochester in 1853, while it is different in style from the celebrated Missionary Discourse of 1823, produced almost as much impression, and has in it quite as much of enduring power. His two discourses, "Thoughts on the Present Distress," *i. e.* the financial panic of 1857, are noteworthy for the practical wisdom of his points, for the way in which he brought his studies in political economy to bear on the subject,

¹ Discourses on the deaths of Nicholas Brown ; Professor William E. Goddard ; Rev. James N. Granger, D. D. ; Moses B. Ives.

² *Discourse on the Affairs of Rhode Island*, 1842 ; *Discourse on the Present (Financial) Crisis*, 1857.

³ *Sermon before the Howard Benevolent Society ; Discourse on Claims of Whalemens ; Sermon on the Fast-Day for the Visitation of Cholera*, 1849.

for the insight with which he traced the origin of the calamity to moral conditions, and for the breadth of didactic treatment displayed. The "vice" of such discourses is overdoing; is unwise, extreme talk, easily dismissed as "pulpit" morals. With this vice, his discourses are never tainted. The very calmness and moderation of his tone gave it immense power.

It must not be forgotten that in the sphere of the preacher, "occasional discourses," as they are called, must hold a very high place. They subserve the highest religious and moral uses. The power of the pulpit can be maintained over the public mind only as the grave crises in public affairs are met worthily by timely utterances. From the days of Chrysostom to the present, the preacher has gained some of his most enduring triumphs in such emergencies. The press cannot usurp this function. It may be or may become a most powerful ally in rebuking public corruption, or advocating high reform, or inciting noble benevolence. The preachers who realize this great attribute of the Christian ministry and use it, alone fill out the measure of their responsibility. It is certainly one of Dr. Wayland's great services to his day and generation that, as the preacher of "occasional discourses," he has given dignity to the American pulpit, and earned for himself a just fame as one of the wisest and noblest of religious teachers.

Dr. Wayland's "University Sermons," published in 1849, were a selection from the discourses preached in the college on Sunday afternoons. At what time after assuming the presidency he began this practice, it is impossible to state with exactness.¹ It was intermitted for a few years, but resumed in 1845, and continued thenceforward to the close of his presidential career. The attendance on these services was voluntary on the part of the students, and they came to them almost in a body. About the same time, it would seem, that Dr. Arnold was beginning that course of Rugby Sermons, which in England set on foot the practice in the other great public schools, and on which so much of Dr. Arnold's fame rests, Dr. Wayland was instituting the same method of moral and religious teaching in Brown University. There was no college church organization of which he was pastor in name or in fact, such as had long existed in Yale College. From

¹ From a letter written to his mother in 1832 by Mrs. Wayland, we learn that "for three Sabbaths past he has preached to the students and to the officers and their families in the college chapel." This would make the date of the chapel preaching about six years after assuming the office of president. It was no part of his official duty as prescribed by the Corporation, but purely a voluntary undertaking. In May, 1834, he was invited by the "Religious Society" of the college, by a formal vote, to preach regularly before the society on Sunday afternoons as he had already done occasionally.

the beginning, as in the college of New Jersey at Princeton, after which it was, as Rhode Island College, somewhat modeled, its first president, James Manning, having been a graduate of the former institution, no connection with any denomination was made by Brown University. Beyond the fact that its president must by charter be a Baptist, no denominational coloring was visible. It was on this broad and catholic basis that Dr. Wayland instituted these chapel sermons, as it was on a similar basis that the Rugby Sermons seem to have been constructed. Like Dr. Arnold,¹ he "made a point of varying the more directly practical addresses with sermons on the interpretation of Scripture and Evidences of Christianity, or on the dangers of [the student's] after life." Dean Stanley's description of Dr. Arnold's preaching will apply almost word for word to Dr. Wayland.

"But more than either matter or manner of his preaching, was the impression of himself. Even the mere readers of his sermons will derive from them the history of his whole mind, and of his whole management of the school. But to his hearers it was more than this. It was the man himself, there, more than in any other place, concentrating all his faculties and feelings on one sole object, combating face to

¹ Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, pp. 152-158.

face the evil, with which directly or indirectly he was elsewhere perpetually struggling. He was not the preacher or the clergyman, who had left behind all his usual thought and occupations, as soon as he had ascended the pulpit. He was still the scholar, the historian, and the theologian, basing all that he said, not indeed ostensibly, but consciously, and often visibly, on the deepest principles of the past and present. He was still the instructor and the schoolmaster, only teaching and educating with increased solemnity and energy. He was still the simple-hearted and earnest man, laboring to win others to share in his own personal feelings of disgust at sin, and love of goodness, and to trust to the same faith in which he hoped to live and die himself."

The influence he wielded in the college pulpit was thus one of the most salient features of Dr. Wayland's career. It could not be said of him that he was an orator, yet at times these sermons rose to an eloquence seldom surpassed in the pulpit. His noble and commanding presence, his depth and trueness of moral and religious feeling, his absolute independence of thought, his high sense of responsibility as the ambassador of God, his solemn and unaffected concern for the spiritual welfare of the students, his thorough preparation for the service, all were

elements of this power. Let one such sermon be recalled in illustration of what his preaching could do in moulding student character. It was on a Sunday afternoon in June, 1850. The senior class was nearing its graduation. His teachings were at such a time apt to take a somewhat wider range, and touch on issues then confronting the men soon to take part in active life. The Fugitive Slave Law had been passed. The Northern conscience had been roused at the possibility of being called on to take part in the arrest of fugitive slaves. His theme for that Sunday was on the necessity of individual benevolence to the stability of civil society. In the course of the sermon he had occasion to speak of human oppression and oppressors. Evidently his own soul was on fire with indignation against the enactment which hung over the head of every man in the North. There was no direct allusion to it. But breaking loose from the manuscript before him, pushing up his glasses on his forehead, as his wont was on occasion, he burst into extempore speech on the nature of human oppression, its injustice, and its intolerable evils. His whole frame seemed to dilate, the deep-sunken eye flashed from under the shaggy, overhanging brow, his voice trembled, and the sentences charged with the intensest feeling, but weighty with the noblest convictions, fell like

bolts upon the audience. The moral grandeur of the whole scene left indelible impressions on the memory of every student. Such outbursts were not uncommon. They measured always the high-water mark in his power to stamp moral impressions on his hearers. It is the quality to which an eminent lawyer of Providence¹ alluded when, at the meeting called to take some public notice of Dr. Wayland's death, he said: "If I were to speak of the things done by him which I think were most remarkable, I should not fix upon any of the great works by which he is known all over the Christian world. I should recall some of the sermons which he preached in the old chapel on what was called the Annual College Fast, some of those occasions upon which he laid himself alongside of the young men in college, and, with all the earnestness of which he was capable, tried to bring them to his way of thinking upon the subject of religion. I have never heard anything in human speech superior to passages in some of these addresses. And I am very much mistaken if, when that sifting process has been performed upon his works which has to be performed upon the works of every author, some of those University Sermons, as I believe they were called, will not survive everything else that he has written or spoken."

¹ Abram Payne, Esq.

While the volume of *University Sermons* does not convey an adequate idea of the range taken in his pulpit efforts, they do illustrate some of his distinctive traits as a university preacher. The most obvious of these is the breadth of treatment which he brought to all questions. In the sermons on "Theoretical and Practical Atheism," in those on the "Moral Character of Man," this is specially manifest. We move in the larger circles of thought. The discussion never drops into the smaller issues, important of course, but not in touch with the generalizing method he pursued. Every hearer of sermons is accustomed to recognize the sudden contraction of interest when such a drop occurs. It is this large treatment more, perhaps, than any subtilty of argument, more certainly than any brilliant originality of style, which at the time gave these discourses their power on the young minds listening to them. Here and there are passages in which style and thought alike move in this impressive sweep. One such is found in the sermon on "Love to Man."¹ He had been discussing the truth that the history of human governments furnishes a striking illustration of the fact that man does not love his neighbor as himself. After an allusion to the expenditure of human talent toward a solution of the problem

¹ *University Sermons*, p. 74.

how to secure stable government, and also the liberties of the governed, he proceeds : —

“Hence it has happened, I think, that the most stable governments on earth have been civil or spiritual despotisms. When rulers form an intelligent and vigilant caste, and can withhold from the people a knowledge of their rights ; or when a priesthood can persuade them that their eternal salvation depends upon unquestioning obedience to the mandates of a hierarchy ; and specially when these two forms of despotism can be united, — that is, when you can deprive men of the exercise of their reason and conscience, until, in some of the most important respects, they cease to be men, — then, they may be governed in quietness. If you can turn men into brutes, you may govern them like brutes. But restore them to their rank, as the intelligent and responsible creatures of God, and their passions, stimulated by liberty, defy restraint, and render a permanent government almost impossible. Hence it has been so often remarked that the civil institutions of man have, in all ages, trodden with greater or less rapidity the same invariable circle, from anarchy to despotism, and from despotism again to anarchy. The forms of government which have endured longest have been those which have vibrated from time to time between opposite extremes. When this

invariable circle has been trodden slowly, the changes have been less violent, and mankind have, at intervals of peace, been permitted to enjoy the blessings bestowed upon them by their Creator ; where, on the other hand, this circle has been rapidly passed over, and civil institutions, by the turbulence of passion, have been frequently overturned, the race of man, worn out with the struggle, has ceased from the earth ; and thus it has happened that whole regions, once the abode of wealth and civilization, are now a wilderness ; and the remains of once populous cities have become the lair of the lion and the hiding-place of the jackal."

His sermons had also a tone of mental independence about them which gave them added power over a student audience. It was evident that he belonged to no school in theology, and that he held all party allegiance to be subservient to a higher moral allegiance. "I stand," he said in a letter to Dr. Withington,¹ "to whatever God has said ; what men infer from it is merely human, and weighs with me just nothing." In the same letter he defines his doctrinal position as that of a "moderate Calvinist." "The sharp angles of Calvinism, which need to be filed and hammered out in order to make a system, I desire to hold no opinion about. It

¹ *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 126.

seems to me that the fault of all theological systems arises from logical sequences drawn from some revealed truth." When, therefore, he came to handle doctrinal subjects in the pulpit, he treated them in his own way, following no received opinions unless they squared with his own thinking. Thus he rejects such a term as "total depravity." No such character, in his view, is ascribed to man in the Scriptures. In his sermon on the work of the Messiah, he laid great stress on the subjective elements of the atonement in Christ's obedience and character. For this he was criticised as failing to present a complete view of the doctrine. His sermons on the unity of the church, breathing as they do that generous and ample catholicity of spirit so marked in him, were said to be open to the charge of "latitudinarianism." But never speaking as the mouthpiece of a school or sect, he spoke with all the more effect to the young men who made up his audience. He held with Chillingworth that "nothing is necessary to be believed but what is plainly revealed." Into these plain revelations he threw his whole soul. They made the staple of his preaching in the college chapel as elsewhere. Nothing in the shape of a speculative argument ever escaped him. His University Sermons are all in the best and deepest sense practical. This aim affects their style.

They are models of Saxon directness, saying things without circumlocution, and saying them in terse, clear sentences, which have in them at once transparent sincerity and moral energy.

It would give no complete view of what Dr. Wayland was as a university preacher were certain adjuncts to that preaching not considered; one of these was his devotional exercises, the other his pastoral work among the students. The importance of daily worship in the college chapel is best realized when that worship is worthily conducted. Students are quick to detect whatever is conventional, whatever savors of cant, whatever is cheap and common. On the other hand, they respond to what is sincere and high in such devotions. The plea for voluntary attendance on chapel services would be shorn of nearly all its force, if the devotional exercises in our chapels were what they ought to be. But the students of Brown University, recalling the little, ill-lighted chapel, with its wide gallery, its narrow stairs, its well-carved benches, must always regret its disappearance, or rather its transformation into a modern lecture room. It is indelibly associated with Dr. Wayland's majestic presence on early winter mornings, or on evenings, when the recitations for the day ended, he led the devotions of the college in those brief but most solemnly impressive prayers.

It may be that there was "disregard of conventional proprieties," yet there was always a "genuine and awful sense of divine sanctities." The educating power of such services cannot well be overestimated. To hear Dr. Wayland in these prayers was to be conscious of a soul realizing the dread fact of the Divine Presence fully to itself, and by the power of personal influence bringing the young minds before the mercy-seat under the same subduing consciousness. What he was in the daily chapel exercises, he was even more in the devotions preceding and following his sermons. At times they rose certainly to a height of moral impressiveness which makes them live forever in the memory of his pupils. The stillness of the College Chapel on such occasions was almost oppressive. They prepared the soul for reception of the truth. It was, to use an old term, "solemnized." They deepened the impression the truth had made. They were uttered when his own moral nature had been deeply roused by his presentation of the truth, and then came those outbursts of emotion *de profundis* which affect other souls only as the pent-up feelings of a strong nature can. An instance of this remarkable power in prayer is given in the "Memoirs" ¹ in connection with the opening of a term of the United States Court, Mr. Justice Story presiding: —

¹ Vol. i. p. 273.

“ It was an invocation of the presence of God as the author and source of all justice, and the Being before whom the judges of the earth would all stand to give an account of the manner in which they had administered the laws among men. An allusion to the omnipresence of God made me tremble. ‘Hell is naked before thee, and destruction hath no covering.’ I recall no passages in his sermons or addresses that surpass in sublimity some portions of that prayer. Spectators, jurors, advocates, and judges were hushed into perfect stillness during its utterance; and I asked myself who, during that session of court, would dare to connive at injustice or to devise or award anything which would not be approved at the final judgment day. The court seemed to me but a faint and poor imitation of the great tribunal before which we must all appear.”

Another adjunct to his work as university preacher was his pastoral care of young men. While this was never laid aside wholly, it was in the revivals occurring during his presidency that it was most conspicuous. Five of these stand out prominently in the religious history of the college. In the years 1834, 1838–41, 1847, and 1848–50, there occurred these religious awakenings which have left in the Christian career of such men as the late Dr. Henry M. Dexter, editor of the “*Congregationalist*,” Professor George

P. Fisher, President James B. Angell, and the late Professor Diman, lasting impressions on the history of the American Church. These men all came directly under Dr. Wayland's Christian guidance. The eye-witnesses of such seasons can never forget their absorbing impressiveness and power, although the work of the college went regularly on. There was no sort of "professionalism" in the conduct of the services. It was simply and absolutely a manly, thoughtful, serious attention to the demands of Christian life upon the soul. Then it was that Dr. Wayland showed his full power as a religious guide. In his off-hand addresses at the college prayer meetings, held in the old chapel in University Hall, he reasoned with and appealed to the students out of a soul full to overflowing with a sense of the adaptedness of the Gospel of Christ to their minds. They were solemn at times with an unutterable solemnity, as he spoke of eternal interests. They were tender at times with a subduing pathos, as his own great heart melted under some view of the love of Christ. They were awful, when occasionally he dwelt on sin and its consequences. To quote the words of a distinguished lawyer, "he laid himself alongside of the young men," and the closeness of the contact was felt by every heart and conscience. But his efforts did not end with these addresses. He was sought out in

the seclusion of his study by young men who had doubts to be solved, or difficulties to be removed, who needed guidance in his pastoral care of their struggling souls. These interviews have been described by more than one of his pupils. Professor J. L. Diman has in a tribute to Dr. Wayland¹ put on record the following which is drawn from his own experience.

“In the most difficult task of dealing with young men at the crisis of their spiritual history, Dr. Wayland was unsurpassed. How wise and tender his counsels at such a time! How many who have timidly stolen to his study door, their souls burdened with strange thoughts and bewildered with unaccustomed questionings, remember with what instant appreciation of their errand the green shade was lifted from the eye, the volume thrown aside, and with what genuine hearty interest that whole countenance would beam! At such an interview he would often read the parable of the returning prodigal, and who that heard can ever forget the pathos with which he would dwell upon the words.”

His wisdom was apparent in all these interviews. He eschewed any stereotyped form of dealing with religious inquirers. More frequently than any other method, he used the parable of the prodigal son, as Professor Diman

¹ *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xxi. p. 71.

has suggested, reading it verse by verse, and making it the steps of a return to God in the case of the soul with whom he was dealing. He had common sense too in his methods. To one student, whose brain was weary with thinking he said, "Go off and walk. Be in the air all day." His advice to another¹ to "make one honest effort" has, with the incident that called it forth, been made the subject of a tract of wide usefulness.

His Bible class was another agency in moulding the religious character of the students. It does not appear that in Brown University, so far as the curriculum of study was concerned, any course of Biblical study was provided for. Early, however, in his presidential career, he gave the students opportunity for systematic study of the Scriptures, by instituting his so-called "Bible Class," which was conspicuous in the religious history of the college during his presidency. The power he had gained in the class-room, as instructor, was all subsidized for the teaching of the word of God. This class was held on Sunday evenings in the old chapel. Attendance of course was voluntary. The Epistle to the Romans was the portion of the Scriptures ordinarily chosen

¹ The son of the clergyman, Dr. Malcom, who in the struggling years of Dr. Wayland had offered him generous aid in the completion of his studies.

for study. That gave him opportunity and scope for those broad discussions of man's moral nature in which he so delighted. It enabled him to expound the redemptive system in which he found the only hope for the race. Yet in all his instruction there was no attempt to formulate a theological system nor to bring in the apostle's teaching in support of any. It could not have been ascertained from his expositions to what denomination of Christians he belonged. Devoted, conscientious Baptist though he was, yet his denominationalism was shut out of the college walls as strenuously as he sought to bring into them the powers of the world to come. His study of the epistle was minute. Every word was subjected to scrutiny. The year of study he had pursued at Andover under Professor Stuart, had qualified him to bring an intelligent exegesis into play. The best evidence of its fruitfulness as a means of good is seen in the fact, that the discussions then begun were afterward carried on in college rooms, and seen also in the remembrance which every student in that Bible class cherishes of its profitable hours.

Of Dr. Wayland's sermons during his temporary pastorate of the First Baptist Church 1857-8, it is perhaps to be regretted that so few were published. The volume entitled "Sermons to the Churches," published in 1858, is made up

of occasional and baccalaureate sermons mainly, the last three only representing his latest style of preaching, that of this brief pastoral charge.¹ It had changed somewhat. It was less elaborate, less ornate. The utmost simplicity and directness were now his constant aim. There was the same felicity of illustration, but the illustrations were of a more familiar cast. Perhaps also the comment made by a hearer gives another aspect of it: "His preaching was moral philosophy animated by the spirit of the Gospel." Illustrations of this may be readily found in his sermon on the "Perils of Riches,"² and in those called forth by the financial crisis of 1857. Indeed, it is an instructive lesson in homiletics to notice how he brought his studies in political economy to bear on the presentation of such and kindred topics.

Dr. Wayland passed successfully the varied tests to which the pulpit can be subjected. An analysis of the sources of power in his preaching would reveal the following elements: He was at home in the ordinary parish sermon. He could rise to the height of a great occasion. He could preach with equal felicity to boys in the Reform School or to students in the university. He was

¹ Besides these, two preached during the financial crisis of 1857, entitled *Thoughts on the Present Distress*, were published by request.

² *Sermons to the Churches*, pp. 211-213.

ready to meet the emergencies of 'so-called "revival seasons." He could bring ethical truths to bear on the questions of the day with the same force.

Unquestionably this varied power was owing to the strength and depth of his own moral nature. This dominated his whole being. Hence whenever he spoke on such themes, the whole man was roused. His intellect was in full play, his emotions were excited, his sense of the moral world and its supremacy possessed him utterly, and gave him a magnetic hold on his audience. Then, too, he kept a steady control of his hearers by the masterly analysis of his subjects, his clear statements, his freedom from all rhetorical deviations or circumlocutions, his apt illustrations, his Saxon speech, his concise reasoning. With him everything was practical in the best sense of that word. He never speculated anywhere, least of all in the pulpit. His doctrinal sermons are among his most practical. Compare those on "The Fall of Man" with that remarkable discourse on a "Day in the Life of Jesus of Nazareth," and the balance of practical teaching will be found in favor of the former.

To all this must be added the effect of his personal presence. No stranger could have seen him rise in the pulpit to begin the service without being impressed with the singular majesty

of that presence, specially in later years, when the angular frame had filled out to its full and noble proportions. The brow, the eye, the swarthy complexion, were Websterian. The voice was deep and solemn in its tones. There was little or no gesture. There was no *elocution* save that of deep feeling. But everything in the make-up of that wonderful figure, the head, the brow, the deep-set eye, the massive frame, the awe in his voice as he began the invocation, blended to make his presence one of power in itself. It made its own impression at once, and everything thenceforward deepened it; his manner of reading the Scriptures, so impressive always, so full of interpretative aid as his tones varied with the different meanings; his prayers so richly spiritual, so child-like, so earnest; and lastly the sermon, when he brought into play the qualities already named with all their effectiveness, no one ever heard him at such times without confessing the power of a great religious teacher.

CHAPTER IX.

DR. WAYLAND AS A PHILANTHROPIST AND CITIZEN.

THAT philanthropy is assuming its rightful place in the thoughts of American citizens is no doubt true. Progress in this direction has for years been conspicuous. Its range has been broadened, its methods have become enlightened, its motives recognized and felt, its successes established. The case was far different when Dr. Wayland entered on his career. The philanthropic spirit needed awakening. Philanthropic movements were not begun, or were inefficiently directed, which since have accomplished brilliant results in bettering the condition of the wretched and suffering, in checking social evils, in promoting human welfare. It is not claiming too much to say that he was a pioneer in this direction. This feature of his character was largely owing to influences exerted on his childhood by his mother. From her he had learned abhorrence of every form of human oppression. From her, too, he had learned to sympathize with

the efforts made for all forms of human advancement. It need scarcely be said that his philanthropy was shaped and colored by distinctively *Christian* views. Its foundations he recognized as laid in the Christian religion. Its motives were drawn from the same source. It was fortified by his studies in Moral Science and further by those in Political Economy. If it had any one feature more salient than the rest it was his insistence upon individual, as contrasted with associated, philanthropy. He came in later years to distrust the tendency manifest in the multiplication of organizations. He never hesitated to avow his dissent from what he considered the mistakes of such organizations. He thought that reliance on these dwarfed the sense of individual responsibility. This was to him the foremost element in all moral success. No man was earlier than he in advocating the cause of temperance. No man ever stood more firmly in that advocacy. Yet he did not hesitate, in his work on the "*Limitations of Human Responsibility*," to indicate views on the subject of pledges to total abstinence different from those urged with so much pertinacity by temperance reformers. From the beginning, he took the highest ground on the wrongfulness of the system of slavery in the South. Yet in his first letter to Dr. Richard Fuller, he said, "I unite with you and the late

lamented Dr. Channing in the opinion that the tone of the Abolitionists at the North has been frequently, I fear I must say generally, fierce, bitter, and abusive. The abolition press has, I believe, from the beginning too commonly indulged in exaggerated statement, in violent denunciation, and in coarse and lacerating invective."¹ He was by no means insensible to the advantage of associated effort, was ready to organize movements in any direction which promised healthy promotion of humane objects. But he was their best friend, because he was their candid friend, never carried away by enthusiasm, nor controlled by mere sentiment, pointing out their possible dangers, and insisting on the point, that they could wisely live and grow only as the prior and fundamental fact of individual benevolence and benevolent activity was fully acknowledged.

Nor was his philanthropy addicted in the least to hobbies. The singular breadth of his interest in charities can only be seen by a review of his philanthropic work. This started in his bold and brilliant appeal for the missionary enterprise

¹ It is however only just to say that had Dr. Wayland lived to see the work of emancipation fully accomplished by the terrible agency of civil war, and after the stormy passions of the long antislavery struggle had fully subsided, no man would have sooner recognized the merits of these abolitionists and as emphatically as he had once condemned their faults.

in his well-known Missionary Discourse. The change of his sphere of labor from a Boston pulpit to the presidency of Brown University resulted in no change in the workings of his philanthropic spirit. He found on coming to Providence that his first work in the promotion of benevolence must be to awaken the people to some comprehension of demands upon them which ought to be recognized. They were contracted in their views rather than indifferent or mean. They needed and they welcomed his enlightenment of their ignorance. He availed himself of every opportunity, in public and in private, to disseminate throughout the community correct views upon the subject. His voice and purse and pen were ever at the service of any meritorious public enterprise.¹ Local charities, such as the Rhode Island Bible Society, the "Tract and School Society," an organization designed to establish schools for the poor in all parts of the State, the "Providence Dispensary," were the first objects on which he concentrated his efforts. On the 20th of October, 1831, he gave an address before the Providence Temperance Society. That address, subsequently published in his volume of Discourses, had an influence far outside its mere local surroundings. It was occasioned in part by a drunken riot in the

¹ *Memoir*, vol. i. p. 334.

suburbs of Providence, resulting in the destruction of several buildings and the loss of several lives. Of this incident the address made skillful use. But its power was resident in its calm, well reasoned, moral appeals, its high and unsailable reasonings. It took its place at once as a tocsin of righteous alarm at the dangers threatening society by the unchecked growth of intemperance; and in the days when few such appeals came from the high places of learning, he lent the influence of his position to the then struggling cause of temperance reform. It was in this reform that Dr. Wayland urged most strenuously the importance of individual effort. He exalted this above legislation. In fact he had grave doubts on the efficiency of some modern legislative expedients. To a clergyman he wrote in 1860, when the Maine prohibitory law was attracting wide attention, "I am much perplexed about the Maine law question, and do not see my way clear. All our efforts thus far seem failures, and I fear we are working on the wrong track. What is the use of trying to punish Irishmen for selling liquor, when mayors, judges, and the highest men in social standing make people drunk at parties? No law can be effective which does not strike all alike. The 'rummies' (I mean the poor ones) have the best of the argument. I do not know what

to do. Church members are as much in the wrong as others. In such cases what can law effect? Hence I doubt."

But he never wavered in his insistence on the duty of individual effort nor in his faith in the power of personal appeal. Having heard of a notorious saloon keeper in Providence, whose saloon was the centre of attraction and consequent ruin to a number of young men, he determined to have an interview with its proprietor and lay before him an earnest argument against his calling. For a long time all his efforts to gain such an interview were baffled. At last, however, the two met. Dr. Wayland used all his power of argument. It was not lost. Argument convinced, and appeal influenced the man. He abandoned his traffic, and became a changed man in character.

When tidings reached this country of any widespread suffering in other lands, it was eminently characteristic of Dr. Wayland that he at once assumed leadership in attempts at relief. These were in his view not simply opportunities for the exercise of charity, — for the cultivation of humane sympathies. They were opportunities for strengthening the bond of human brotherhood. They were the offset to war as a devastating agent. They were the golden occasions for Christian philanthropy, bringing nations more

closely together. The international importance of liberal responses to all such appeals for help was uppermost in his mind. He believed in their educating power upon the world, and hence threw his whole soul into their promotion. One such occasion was furnished in the Irish famine. He wrote his sister, . . . "This morning I have been out in behalf of the Irish. In less than two hours we raised here sixteen hundred dollars. We hope to increase it to seven thousand dollars, and send it by the next steamer. The amount received by Great Britain from this country will be large, and I hope it will set a new example of national intercourse. It is noble to see such efforts in behalf of humanity, for the sake of Christ, and even for the sake of general benevolence. It shows that the Gospel of Christ is influencing nations. It is a bright spot in the darkness that in many directions seems so closely to envelop us."

Another such occasion was the massacre of the Syrian Christians by the Druses in 1860. He stepped forward at once to organize among the citizens of Providence plans for relief. He began a correspondence with Rev. Dr. Anderson, of the American Board of Missions, as to the best method. Apparently the committee having the matter in charge moved too slowly to suit his more eager spirit, for after a few

days he wrote to Dr. Anderson again as follows : —

“I wish you would use the inclosed \$—— in such manner as will do the most good to the Syrian sufferers. I cannot wait for our committee.”

He was an early opponent of indiscriminate charity, an early advocate of methods of relief which leave the self-respect of the poor unharmed. The “poor laws” of England, the “soup-house systems,” had been subjects of his study. He anticipated many of the conclusions reached and urged by the modern students of social science on this subject. In the year 1857, when, in consequence of the financial panic, labor found no employment, and suffering among the working classes was widespread, “he originated the conception of the Providence Aid Society, whose main design was to supply work to the destitute by opening an office, where all needing employment, and those able to furnish employment, could be brought together.” During his lifetime he remained at the head of this organization, which has had since its institution many imitators in all parts of the country. In local charities like this, also the Butler Hospital for the Insane and the Rhode Island Hospital, his philanthropy was conspicuous, alike in the time and labor spent upon their boards, and in active

efforts to secure their efficiency. The Annual Report of the Butler Hospital for 1865, in a discriminating notice of his death, takes occasion to "testify to his remarkable individual exertions to promote the end sought to be attained" in that and other institutions, whose object was the relief of human suffering. He had a fine contempt for a species of professional philanthropy, eloquent upon platforms, discoursing of human wrongs and human wretchedness with sentimental appeals and voluble denunciation, but which only made this a matter of speech-making or worse, a sort of capital for popularity. His deeds went with his words, went before his words often, and of no man could it be more truly said that his philanthropy was that of common sense as well as common humanity. He had studied with care the lives of such philanthropists as John Howard, Caroline Fry, and George Müller.¹ That in them which most impressed and moved him was the self-denying, individual labors they had put forth. He never wearied of referring to them in his class room and from the pulpit. He had studied the career of John Howard, as thoroughly as he had that of Lord Erskine and Napoleon I. There was in it an element of the morally heroic which stirred his nature to its depths.

¹ *Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 259.

The two spheres in which his philanthropic spirit was most conspicuously shown were, opposition to American slavery, and efforts for ameliorating the condition of the criminal classes. From the beginning of his presidency, he had taught his classes a doctrine of human rights, which would cut up by the roots all forms of human bondage. The publication of his "Moral Science" gave him a national reputation along this line of philanthropic effort. In the year 1844, he held through the columns of the "Christian Reflector" a prolonged debate with Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller, of Baltimore, on the system of domestic slavery in the South. The discussion was occasioned by Dr. Fuller's animadversions on that part of Dr. Wayland's "Moral Science" which treated of the New Testament view of slavery.¹ The position held by Dr. Fuller was that the Bible sanctioned slavery, could be appealed to as authority for maintenance of the system in the South, apart from the acknowledged abuses. It was an instance of the change which had come over the South, change from a tone of apology to that of defense, of tolerance for a time to assertion of inherent good in the system justifying its perpetuation and extension.

Dr. Wayland was averse to controversy. He had no desire to appear on the arena of a public

¹ *Fuller and Wayland, on Domestic Slavery*, pp. 4, 5.

debate, sure to arrest attention as a contest between champions. He was not polemic. For theological controversies he had a rooted dislike. But he saw that he could not keep silent in this emergency. He took up the gage Dr. Fuller had flung down. The debate centred around the question of Scriptural authority for Southern slavery. He entered on it with solemn prayer to Almighty God and with high intent for Christian philanthropy.¹

Two things were accomplished by him. First, he made a noble defense of the Scriptures from the claim that they furnished a legitimate ground for the system of slavery at the South. Secondly, he gave the rising antislavery sentiment of the North new impetus and more intelligent basis. The debate, a model of Christian courtesy between the two disputants, attracted wide attention in its day. It was only one more public event which educated, as it developed, the antislavery sentiment of the North.

It was, however, in connection with the criminal classes that his philanthropy was most strikingly manifest. He was for many years President of the Prison Discipline Society. He had been too close a student of political economy, too close an observer of the working of our social systems, too well read in statistics of

¹ *Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 57.

crime, not to bring his philanthropy to bear on the knotty problem, the "reformation of convicts." That chapter in his life¹ which reveals his personal efforts in this direction may well be considered one of its most remarkable features. It can here be only briefly told. In the year 1851, the governor of the State offered him a place on the board of Inspectors of the State Prison and the Providence County Jail. His first question, after receiving the offer, was "whether any salary attached to the office." Assured that the labor connected with it was wholly gratuitous, the appointment was promptly accepted. He was made chairman of the board, and on him for many years was devolved the duty of preparing the annual report. Those reports contain a striking history of prison reform. They also disclose a remarkable amount of work, of wise, unflinching investigation, of successful undertaking. At the time when Dr. Wayland entered on this field of labor, and it was when he was much engrossed with the plan of reconstruction for the college, both the state prison and the Providence jail were a burden of expense to the State. "In 1846, the expense exceeded the revenue by \$7,563; in 1848, by \$5,462. In addition to this the state prison was built on a plan which admitted of no venti-

¹ *Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 339-351.

lation, no warmth, no proper lighting. The air was as foul as that of Newgate in the time of De Foe. The natural results followed. Disease was common and malignant in its type. There was no hospital for the sick. The cells were occupied by more than one inmate, in some instances by more than two. There was no prison library. There was no chapel. "The female convicts, from ten to twenty in number, were crowded into two or three cells.¹ And what was true of the state prison was only more horribly true of the county jail.

The new board of inspection, with Dr. Wayland at its head and as its guiding spirit, entered at once on a work of thorough reform. Better accommodations for the prisoners were at once secured. A library for the convicts was obtained. A hospital also was provided. The labor of the prisoners in state prison and jail by the year 1862 more than paid the expenses of both. A chapel for religious worship was built. The moral character of the prisoners improved. In short, Dr. Wayland and his associates had effected a thorough reformation of the abuses which had long prevailed in the prison administration. The amount of effort

¹ In each of the small cells (in the county jail), ten feet by twelve, six or eight females were confined night and day. *Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 342.

which he gave to this object was enormous. In dealing with the legislature the weight of his name was enough to secure all needed coöperation. There was no period of his life which was more exacting of toil in his presidential office than the years from 1850-56, and yet these were the years in which he undertook the work of prison reform. Nor have we reached any adequate idea of what these labors were till we consider the unofficial work he performed for the religious welfare of the inmates of the prison. He preached often to them on Sunday. He was superintendent of the Sunday-school established for the convicts, and taught a class in it. Sabbath after Sabbath, in storm or shine, he was to be seen wending his way to the prison, to gather that class around him, and to unfold to them in his plain, impressive, fitting way the religion of Jesus. He was a fellow-worshiper with the convicts in the prison chapel by choice, till he assumed temporarily the pastorate of the First Baptist Church. Some of his comments in this connection are very characteristic. To the chaplain of the prison he said more than once, "I never enjoyed religious worship more than in this place and with this congregation." On another occasion he remarked, "If the Saviour were to visit the city of Providence, I do not know any place where He would be more likely

to be found than here." Of his Bible class, he said, "I love to preach the Gospel to these poor fellows in all its precious promises. How adapted it is to meet the wants of just such men!" No wonder that when the chaplain of the state prison on the Sunday morning after his death, said to the convicts gathered in the chapel, "You will never see your friend Dr. Wayland again; he is dead," he was answered by their sobs.

He had no official relations with the Providence Reform School. But these in his case were not needful to elicit from him a hearty co-operation in its objects. He was a weekly visitor there "for a long time," we are told, knew personally each of the boys, and understood his disposition, his temptations, and his history. It was an audience he loved to speak to, and an audience which delighted to hear him. He had no clap-trap methods of gaining their attention. He never resorted to story-telling as a device to insure a hearing. It was the simplest of conversations with them rather than set speech. And when the boys were asked, "Whom do you want to have speak to you?" the two names most often mentioned were Gilbert Congdon (a minister among the Quakers) and Dr. Wayland. "I once," said the gentleman who had charge of securing the Sunday address, "engaged two

young gentlemen to speak, and also Dr. Wayland. The day proved frightful. There was a foot of snow on the ground; it had been and still was raining. The snow was all slush. The two young gentlemen did not appear, but, punctual to the hour, there was Dr. Wayland." He knew his audience would be waiting for him, and he would not disappoint them.

When Dr. Caswell spoke of President Wayland in happy phrase as the "first citizen of Rhode Island," he indicated what was a prominent feature of his career. Citizenship in Dr. Wayland's view was invested with sacred responsibilities. Though not widely read in history he had thought much and deeply on the subject. He was ever a watchful observer of current events, especially in their moral and intellectual bearings. He believed profoundly that educated men held special trusts in the development of our republican institutions. He never took refuge in scholastic pursuits as absolving him from active participation in the duties of a citizen. All this is foreshadowed in his sermons on the duties of an American citizen, preached in Boston in 1825. His earlier political training had been in sympathy with the Republicans, then dividing political control of the country with the Federalists, on the grounds commonly held by Baptists in those days: that the Republican

party was more favorable than the Federalist to unrestricted freedom in matters of religious opinion.¹ This view in general shaped his whole subsequent career. On coming to Rhode Island, he found himself in ardent sympathy with Roger Williams's doctrine of "soul liberty." He loved all the early traditions of Rhode Island history. He was, by adoption only, a Rhode Islander; and yet no native of her soil ever had a greater pride in his State, nor a more constant devotion to her welfare. Holding such views on the responsibilities of citizenship, every crisis in state or national affairs brought him forward as an active citizen. He wrote or he spoke in order to mould a right public sentiment. He could face temporary unpopularity, or the abuse of partisan journals, with a calm front. These things never got him out of temper, never seemed to sway him in the slightest toward any more pronounced opposition than his convictions had already predetermined.

What is known as the Dorr War, or the Rhode Island Rebellion, occurred in 1842. It was the violent and anarchical termination of what had been a long struggle in Rhode Island politics. It was an attempt to overthrow the existing government by force. We find Dr.

¹ *Reminiscences ; Memoir*, vol. i. p. 14.

Wayland heading the party of "law and order." On the first Sunday after the suppression of the outbreak, he preached his well-known discourse on the "Affairs of Rhode Island," and on the day of Thanksgiving appointed by the state authorities followed up his previous teachings by a fuller discussion of the "duty of the citizen to the commonwealth." He was made the target for virulent shafts from the party of revolt. They never ruffled him into one angry word by way of reply. He had shown what loyalty to existing institutions means both by example and precept. He never allowed his position as president of the college to nullify his active citizenship in the State.

Two years later he wrote articles on the Debts of the States for two of the leading reviews, the "North American" and the "Christian Review." Repudiation had become a matter of wide discussion. Pennsylvania, Michigan, Mississippi, and Louisiana in one form or another had repudiated their obligations. Foreign creditors, like Sydney Smith, were furious, and hurled every shaft of invective or sarcasm at Republican institutions. The irritation was widespread at home as well as abroad. It was to hold up the standard of financial honor, and so to allay this irritation, that President Wayland prepared with great care these papers on the Debts of the

States. The article in the "North American Review" ¹ for January, 1844, is a thorough discussion of the whole subject in all its bearings. In its opening sentences, the author says, "Disgrace has fallen upon the people of this country in the eyes of the civilized world, and it becomes us to inquire how far we deserve it, how far it is unmerited, by what means we can justly relieve ourselves from it, and what are to be the consequences of our continuing in the wrong. We believe that some injustice has been done by public opinion, and some needless alarm felt by those most directly interested, either through ignorance of the facts, or because they have been considered only in a hurried and imperfect manner. We have no doubt also that evil principles have been disseminated, and false ideas of duty and policy presented to the people, in connection with this interesting subject, and that these can be effectually exposed only by discussion. We propose, therefore, to state the facts, as we suppose they really exist, and to examine some of the principles connected with the subject." Aside from all the merit which the article possesses as a discussion of the subject in hand, it is a model of reasoning on such themes, and is perhaps the best specimen of Dr. Wayland's contributions to our periodical literature.

¹ Vol. lxviii. pp. 109-157.

The annexation of Texas, and the consequent Mexican war, brought him into still greater prominence in connection with politics. To both these measures he was inflexibly opposed. The one he regarded as utterly needless to a nation already possessed of more territory than it could profitably occupy, calculated to involve us in war, and above all tending to increase the extent and power of slavery.¹ The other he opposed on the highest grounds, — public morality, the interests of justice and humanity. It seemed to him simply a national wickedness. For all such wars he had the highest abhorrence, and in his view patriotism demanded loud and indignant protests against their prosecution rather than any support urged on grounds of political expediency or supposed national honor. He characterized the Mexican war as “*ab origine*, wicked, infamous, unconstitutional in design, and stupid and shockingly depraved in its management.” The sermons on “Obedience to the Civil Magistrate”² were preached in order to rouse the moral sense of the nation. “I never,” he wrote to his sister, “felt more anxious about

¹ *Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 55, note. His vote for Henry Clay as President in 1844, as a “protest against the annexation scheme,” is his earliest political action against slavery; all his later political action was similarly determined. His vote was cast in 1848 for the candidates of the Buffalo Convention.

² *University Sermons*, pp. 252–293.

anything I have published ; not, I trust, on my own account (for necessity was laid upon me, and I could not but bear my testimony), but on account of my country."

The principles laid down by him in these sermons were again reaffirmed in the case of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. He was known as the outspoken opponent of this law. "I have always declared," he said in a letter to a clergyman, "that I would never aid in arresting a fugitive, or do a thing to return him to slavery. I would make no opposition to the government, but I would patiently endure the penalty. This I have a right to do, on the principle that I must obey God rather than man." A fugitive slave having been sent with a letter of introduction to him, Dr. Wayland clothed him, housed him, and gave him money. He was active in resistance to all the means used for extending the domain of slavery. He addressed the citizens of Providence on the occasion of the passage of the Nebraska Bill. He again addressed them on the occasion of the assault upon Charles Sumner. He supported the candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency in 1856, and when the war for the Union broke out, he was found its most ardent supporter. No *doctrinaire* views on the subject of war were allowed to obstruct his course then. In every way open to him, he aided

the movement of the North for the maintenance of the government.

While, however, he insisted strenuously on the active discharge of all the duties of citizenship, and while he himself in his own way strove to fulfill these, he always maintained the position of an independent in politics. Right or wrong, his belief here was founded on the supreme importance of cultivating in citizenship, as in ecclesiasticism, the sense of individual responsibility. If he adopted as one moral axiom, "Every man has a right to himself," and made it, as he did, the corner-stone of his opposition to all forms of slavery, he adopted as its correlate the view that "Every man has his own responsibility to meet." He was not blind to the necessity of party organizations. He believed in them, acted through them, voted with them, when they squared with his own convictions. Two principles led him always, and more strongly in the later period of his life, to assert the duty of political independence in the matter of party policies. He had a horror of any bondage. He disliked a party whip as he detested the plantation whip. He foresaw that political parties in a republic could be tyrannical as well as czars. He insisted, therefore, that the due check upon this was the assertion of independence, especially on the part of educated men. His pupils were taught that, while

there was a doctrine of expediency, which wise men would not hesitate at times to follow, nothing could save this doctrine from degenerating into the worst kind of time-serving, but a counter assertion of political independence on which party ties sat not too loosely, but never as a yoke. He urged with even more force the view that this element of political independence must be maintained as a check upon party excesses or party corruption. In his sermons on "Obedience to the Civil Magistrate" the following passage indicates his view :¹ —

"To all this I know it will be answered that there are never more than two political parties ; and though with neither can a good man harmonize, yet he must unite with either the one or the other, lest his influence be altogether thrown away. He must, therefore, become a party to much that is wrong, that thus he may accomplish a probable good. To this objection our reply must be brief. It declares it to be our duty to do wrong for the sake of attaining a purpose ; or, in the words of the apostle, 'to do evil that good may come.' This is its simple and obvious meaning, and we leave it to the condemnation of the apostle. But besides all this, when we urge such a plea, we seem to forget that there is a power in truth and rectitude,

¹ *University Sermons*, pp. 291, 292.

which wise men would be wiser did they duly appreciate. Let the moral principle of this country only find an utterance, and party organizations would quail before its rebuke. How often have we seen a combination, insignificant in point of numbers, breaking loose from the trammels of party, and uniting in the support of a single principle, hold the balance of power between contending parties, and wield the destinies of either at its will! Let virtuous men, then, unite on the ground of *universal moral principle*, and the tyranny of party will be crushed. Were the virtuous men of this country to carry their moral sentiments into practice, and act alone rather than participate in the doing of wrong, all parties would from necessity submit to their authority, and the acts of the nation would become a true exponent of the moral character of our people."

This, of course, is political idealism, and in his time, as at present, not in high repute with the active politicians. He could accept a doctrine of expediency on occasion. His mind was too practical to be *doctrinaire* in anything. But if it be political idealism to be entirely independent of all party ties, ready to vote with the party which at the time and on the whole represents the higher political morality, he was quite ready to incur the reproach of being a

political idealist. His hour of triumph came in the great crises, like that of the assassination of President Lincoln, when political party ties seemed petty things, and when the whole community sought his counsels and his support.

Any just estimate of Dr. Wayland's life and work must be founded on a recognition of the fact that his moral nature both quickened and controlled his intellectual development. From the moment of that mental regeneration of which he speaks in his *Reminiscences*, to the day of his death, his intellectual activity never seemed a thing by itself. Whatever forms it assumed were chosen and inspired by this sense of duty. Towards the close of his career, when public and official positions were laid aside, it asserted itself full as vigorously as when he was immersed in the responsibilities of the pastorate or the presidency of the college. He took no lengthened recreation. Vacations were to him only new opportunities for labor. He says that he had never learned how to recreate himself. His life was one long strenuous endeavor, unbroken by any rests, to do his appointed work. The European trip is the solitary exception to this, and his weariness of it only proves the rule. Probably this unbroken toil shortened his days. But who shall say that he could have

accomplished more in any other way, — to quote his often repeated phrase, “I am so made,” and the workman does his best in following his own bent. At all events this is the key to a true understanding of his life and of the man himself.

To attempt anything like an analysis or portraiture of his Christian character as something apart from his daily work would be a mistake. Strong and unwavering as was his intellectual persuasion of the truth of Christianity, fervid and deep as was the inner life which corresponded to his faith in the gospel of Christ, he made the impress of his Christian life on the world by the Christian elements in his daily toil. Of few could the apostolic saying “to me *to live* is Christ” hold more exactly true than of Dr. Wayland. With no trace of the mystic in him, it was yet given to him to realize a communion with God, fully as deep and more genuine than any of which mystics have rhapsodized. It was frequently remarked of him that his Christian life was “simplicity and godly sincerity.” He not only entered the kingdom of God as a little child, so he lived and toiled in it to the end. This gave to his Christian influence a peculiar attractive force. Men of the world, business men, professional men, as well as the

student body, recognized the power of this "godly sincerity." The whole was genuine. Nothing was perfunctory, nothing was professional, nothing was done for effect. The force of a great sincerity was conspicuous in his Christian influence. It was in this sphere that the tenderer, softer sides of his nature, originally imperious and reserved, came out. We have already seen that he was a Baptist by the deepest conviction. His love for the church of his fathers deepened to the last. His attachment to Baptist tenets grew only stronger as he observed the tendencies working in other Christian denominations. He was never a controversialist, but he was ready to avow always, and to defend, the denominational views which have made for Baptists so important and so honorable a history in the religious world. In fact his "Notes on the Principles and Practices of Baptists" sprang from the fear he had, lest his denomination was swinging somewhat from its old moorings in some matters of worship, and in the work of the ministry. To exalt the New Testament as the rule of faith and practice, to assert stoutly the independence of the churches, and thus avoid the error of undue, unwholesome bondage to Councils and Creeds, to insist that the Church must be a spiritual body, made up only of regenerated persons, those "called to be

saints," to proclaim a complete separation between the Church and the State as did Roger Williams, to emphasize *soul liberty*, to give the Christian ministry its fullest scope by avoiding what seemed to him unwise and unscriptural educational tests, to lay more stress on the responsibility of the individual Christian and less upon the machinery of ecclesiastical organizations, all these elements were in him and abounded. He was in one sense the stanchest of denomination-
alists. And yet he had among his closer friends Episcopalians, Quakers, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Unitarians. The reason of this is not far to seek. His denominationalism was so filled and mellowed, so guarded and exalted by the Christian life and spirit, that it made him only the more complete Christian man. The same convictions which led him to choose independency as the true policy of churches led him to insist on the idea of individual responsibility in all its relations. Individuality was with Dr. Wayland a cardinal principle of manhood. His theory of education was the development of this in the pupil. He believed in thinking for one's self, and not in having other people do the thinking for us. He had a horror of sinking individuality in great political parties or great ecclesiastical organizations, be they Hierarchies or Missionary Boards. To make the educated man,

the Christian man, count for most in the work of life, he must be made to feel his responsibility, the best side of his individuality must be developed, — this with him was an axiom in education. It is quite possible that in some ways this view interfered with his own wider development. It may have led him to rely too much on his own independent effort, to make too little of what other men had done. More learning would possibly have enhanced his influence. He would have saved time by looking into results reached by other laborers in the field rather than by slowly working them out for himself. And if he could have been brought into a closer association with other scholars, if he could have been in more direct contact with the learning of books, there can be little doubt that his mental power would have been none the less effective, as it would certainly have been enriched. But everything in life goes by compensations, and out of this intense individualism grew the courage, intellectual and moral, which was so conspicuous in him. If, as Wordsworth said of Milton,

(His) soul was like a star, and dwelt apart,

he never lacked the boldness to stand alone. No man ever lived who had more the courage of his opinions. In a time of heated discussion on the

temperance reform, he could take a position on the question of pledges to total abstinence which exposed him to severe animadversions from those whose opinions he greatly valued. In a community, all whose material interests were involved in manufactures, he unhesitatingly from his chair of Political Economy taught the theory of Free Trade in its fullest extent. While the whole country was enlisted in the Mexican war, and the spirit of American patriotism was appealed to for its support, he denounced it in unmeasured terms. When the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was made a burning question in the North, he astonished many of his friends, who had known his determined anti-slavery views, by holding as unwise the measure then put forward, and urged the reference of the question to the Southern States for decision rather than to the whole country. When he thought that the Baptist churches were erring in some points by imitation of other religious bodies, he was not hesitant in lifting his protest against changes which threatened in his view the purity and power of Baptist usages. "I believe," he said,¹ "the Baptists to hold a distinct position among other Protestant sects ; that they entertain sentiments which, if carried into practice, must render them somewhat peculiar, and

¹ *Notes on Principles and Practices of Baptists*, p. 147.

that they are perfectly capable of establishing their own usages, and of adapting their mode of worship and rules of discipline to the principles which they believe. They need borrow from no one. They have no occasion to hide their sentiments or blush for the results to which they lead. Their very peculiarities are their titles to distinction, because they are founded on principles which are essential to the permanent spirituality of the Church of Christ."

These are but the more salient instances of a courage which was displayed in his administration of the college, in his views on education, and in numberless occurrences of his daily life. It was both an intellectual and a moral trait. It is difficult to say which is the more apparent. That an opinion was new never daunted him. Thus he avowed his sympathy with Herbert Spencer's views on education at a time when few of our educators were ready to say much in their favor. He was equally ready to follow his opinions to all their logical consequences. His sermons on "Obedience to the Civil Magistrate"¹ well illustrated this. His opinions were never hastily formed, but once formed, he never cared much to qualify, and never to trim them in order to conciliate other men. His pupils will all remember how much and how ear-

¹ *University Sermons*, pp. 253-293.

nestly he taught against slavery to public opinion. He was not insensible to the opinion of good men. He was sensitive to it. But the silence with which he bore all attacks upon his views was the silence, not of policy, nor yet of vacillation. It was the silence of a quiet moral courage trusting to time and experience for the vindication of his views.

This courage, intellectual and moral, was largely rooted in his love for truth. This he sedulously cultivated in himself. No words of Christ affected him more than the assurance, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." He detested shams of every sort, superficiality of every kind. Not to be thorough was to be untrue. Hence he sought to impress on the whole course of university instruction that its chief end and final aim was to secure thoroughness. With this in view he established that analytical method in the lecture and recitation room which has characterized and still characterizes the instruction at Brown University. He was not so ambitious to extend the course of instruction as to establish this foundation virtue of mental training. And when, as in 1850, he advocated the expansion of the curriculum, he felt that it must be undertaken only in the spirit of doing thoroughly whatever was to be done. What the scheme of education outlined in

the catalogue promised, that must be performed. Thoroughness was truth, superficiality was untruth to the interests involved.

So also in all other spheres, politics, religion, theology, it was observable that names had little or no power over him. As this love of truth kept him from anything like partisanship, so it was impossible that he should train a race of partisans. His students owed him more for the influence on them of this ruling passion in his life than for aught else they gained from him. It was the atmosphere of his lecture room which they breathed, which vitalized their intellectual being. He was an instructor, as we have seen, of great and varied powers. But it was more than his apt and powerful teaching which made that lecture room so potent an educating centre. It was the simple, honest, whole-hearted love of truth which was the "hiding of his power" as an educator. Of such elements was the intellectual and moral character of Dr. Wayland composed. Add to all these qualities that imperial presence, the massive features, the resonant voice, the deep-set eye, looking out from the rugged brow, the majestic port, and it is easy to understand the sources of his power as a leader in religious thought. He belongs to a race of great college presidents, men like James Walker, of

Harvard, and Theodore Woolsey, of Yale University, and Mark Hopkins, of Williams College.

Than they, and their predecessors, no men have done more for the interests of the country. The world has done scant justice to its great educators. It is only the latest of English historians¹ who has had the insight to perceive that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the work of Erasmus and John Colet are, as factors in the making of England, quite as potential as statesmen and warriors. The historian of America will assuredly take care that the work of her educators shall be duly chronicled. And whatever be the future development of the higher education, it will be seen that such men as have been named prepared the way for all advance, and that Dr. Wayland was the foremost man in projecting the modern changes in the mode of our Higher Education. Other men have entered into his labors, have fashioned the plans more wisely perhaps, have developed the ideas certainly with more completeness. But he was the pioneer, and blazed the path to the higher work of to-day in our colleges and universities. His career from its beginning to its close is a record of hard, unremitting, broadening work as Pastor

¹ J. R. Green.

and Preacher, Educator, Author, and Philanthropist. Nothing ever checked its impetuous onset. Nothing diverted its steady sweep. Nothing dimmed its great success. And when the end came, it came only as the end comes to the shock of corn fully ripe.

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